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it is one of the theses of this book that a man's social value is correspondingly more important, and his place in the rituals is partly due to and partly expresses this fact.

A man's or woman's place in Murngin society is fixed by his or her position in the kinship structure. The totality of his behavior toward all the people in his community and of their behavior in relation to him, with all the concomitant obligations, duties, and privileges, is determined by his being placed exactly in this social structure through the operation of certain mechanisms. Social space in the sense of social stratification has no vertical extension in Murngin society; but the kinship space[7] has the usual kind of vertical structure found in all kinship systems, namely, the extension which is created by the generations above and below a man (ego). Generation recognition does not extend beyond the usual five of the normal vertical kinship structure, but the lateral structure has been extended to three lines on both sides (paternal and maternal) of the line of a man's own lineage, making a total of seven.

The whole of the social organization is built on the pattern of kinship. The kinship system is the fundamental form into which the rest of the social organization has been integrated. The greater part of the behavior of the Murngin can be understood only in terms of his behavior as a kinsman. The very complex kinship structure with its seven lines of descent and five generations in each line is but an elaboration of the immediate families of orientation[8] and of procreation,[8] that is, of the family into which an individual is born and that which he creates at marriage. The underlying mechanism controlling the relations of these two families is that of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage, which here means that a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter but not his father's sister's daughter. As will be demonstrated in other parts of this chapter, the result of this asymmetry has been to give a tremendous lateral spread to the kinship structure instead of keeping it narrowed to the two lines of descent where symmetrical cross-cousin marriage takes place.

The Murngin have doubled the count of thirty-five relatives created by five generations and seven lines of descent, through the division of each of these on the basis of brother and sister relation. In addition, by the use of the principle of age in generation, separating older

[7] See Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social Mobility*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927.
[8] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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601 from younger brother in the terminology, there is one extra relative, making a total of seventy-one for each member of the society.

Every individual in Murngin society, looked at from the point of view of the totality of his behavior in the society, expresses all of the kinship relations. At one moment he is behaving as a son to his father, and in the next as a father to his son, or as a son-in-law to his father-in-law, and then reversing this latter relationship with some other person. Because of the classificatory or tribal type of kinship reckoning, each Murngin has every type of relationship expressed by the system.

●602 One of the most general statements that can be made about Murngin kinship structure is that the perpendicular or vertical lines in the structure are very strong; they consist primarily of fathers and children. The lateral or horizontal lines are comparatively weak, since they consist primarily of the extension of the kinship structure through marriage. This comparative weakness and strength are an important determinant in the behavior of the Murngin. Various devices are used and customs formed around the feeling of weakness expressed in all the individual's behavior within the laterally extended kinship structure. The most dramatic examples are found in the mirrirri and wakinu customs which surround the relation of tabooed brother to sister, and of the maternal grandmother's brother to sister's daughter's son.

617 Although from the simple relations found within the immediate family the Murngin have worked out this very elaborate, extended kinship structure in great detail, they also, in common with many other Australian tribes, have reversed the process and reclassified the relatives into more general kin groupings, termed subsections by the later anthropologists and mistakenly called marriage classes by the earlier. The subsection terminology groups all seventy-one relatives into but eight exogamic units. This simplification aids greatly in determining a man's relationship to people from more distant areas and functions openly during the gatherings of the people for their great rituals when such identifications become necessary.

614 Geographical space is injected formally into the Murngin social system by the territorial extension given the clan. The various areas with their natural phenomena such as pools, rivers, lakes, trees, larger stones, hills, and plains have totemic references associated with the clan. The clans, as has been stated, are regrouped into two exogamic divisions or moieties which by virtue of their classification of the clans

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Marderpa	⟷	Marungun
Marungun	⟷	Yalukal, Yandjinung (tribe)
Merango	⟷	Darlwongo
Naladaer	⟷	Daiuror
Perango	⟷	Kolpa, Birkili
Wangurri	⟷	Kalpu, Maradunggimi, Djirin, Kapin
Warumeri	⟷	Kalpu
Yalukal	⟷	Marungun

Examining this list of intermarrying clans in connection with the map (page 40), we see that they usually adjoin or are but a short distance apart. When Murngin warfare is discussed later in this chapter, it will be seen that the clans which are in competition for women from another particular clan are usually antagonistic groups and belong to opposing sides in the clan feuds.

A man always calls his own totems bapa (father), marikmo (paternal grandfather), or occasionally old gatu (paternal grandfather's father), according to the relationship term that his father applies to the emblem. If his father calls a totem bapa, ego applies the term marikmo to it; when the father addresses it as older brother, ego calls it bapa. In other words, a man applies the rule of kinship to his relationship with his totem by tracing his relationship to it as though it were an actual relative of his father. Often this nicety is not completely observed, and all the ranga are called by the single term bapa. Ego traces his relationship to totems of another clan through his nearest and most important relative in that clan. He would apply the term mari to a totem if it came from a clan having the mari and marelker line of descent as ego's nearest relatives in it, or he would use the term gawel (mother's brother) or arndi (mother) if the totem came from his mother's group. The members of a clan may all call the same outside clan's totems by different terms, since they may all be in different relationships to the men within these outside groups. The use of this kinship device further articulates ego with the local organization outside his own group, which gives him a greater sense of solidarity.

Sharing of totems occurs largely with clans belonging to the same moiety and will be discussed under the sections on moiety and phratries.

Murngin Moieties

Yiritja and Dua are the intertribal names for the moieties of this North Australian culture. All of the eight tribes considered in this paper, except the Burera, refer to their moieties by these names. The

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totem and clan well, and their names, although somewhat different, are items from the same totemic configuration. They marry under the same rules and regulations and obtain for wives the same social personality (their mother's brother's daughters) and, by the action of the levirate and sororate, sometimes the identical women. In every respect the brothers are equivalent, primarily because of this occupation of the same sociological place in the family of procreation. The equivalence of brothers is one of the basic principles underlying the fundamental structure of the kinship organization.

The brother-sister reciprocal is fundamentally powerful and primarily the same as in Euro-American society. There is also a considerable degree of equivalence between brothers and sisters. They occupy the same generation and same line of descent. From a structural point of view, the horizontal generation line cross-sects the perpendicular patrilineal line at the same point for both the sisters and the brothers. They are therefore from the same totem well, they have the same totems, et cetera, but because of their sexual difference they are not completely equivalent. Further, they marry people who occupy different points within the social kinship structure, which tends to differentiate them.

The marriage of a male ego to his wife is something more than the modern marriage contract to any woman out of a general group. He marries into his wife's family of orientation, a group of four personalities who are his mother's brother, his mother's brother's wife (who is also part of another family), his wife's brother, and his wife's sister, who is also mother's brother's daughter. Ego, then, is constantly looking to his mother's people for his wives while he is a member of his own family of orientation and while forming his family of procreation, and when he has a son he still seeks the father of his mother's group to obtain wives for his male offspring. On the other hand, he has nothing to obtain during childhood and early manhood from his father's side of the family. When he has a daughter old enough for marriage, he wants a son-in-law; but he is then not a seeker but the one sought after by his sister's son, which puts him in a very strong position. To summarize: in his family of orientation he is weak in his relations with his mother's people and strong with his father's; in his family of procreation this still holds true. It is to be noted that on his father's side there are no tabooed collateral relatives with the exception of his sister, who is a part of his own family; but on his mother's side two are taboo: mokul rumeru and momelker. The elementary family tends to

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The elementary family tends to be much more stable in Murngin society than it does in our own because of the operation of the sororate and levirate, since if a man obtains two or more sisters for wives and they are looked upon as mothers, the death of any one of them does not disrupt the equilibrium of the family structure; if the husband dies, his brothers inherit the wives and children and there is still no break within the general structure, since the children have, as the classificatory terminology attests, regarded their father's brothers as fathers.

An examination of the relationship of the two elementary families to the entire kinship system shows that all the perpendicular patrilineal lines of descent except the two extremes to the right and left of ego (the natchiwalker-gawel and the dumungur-waku line)[3] are all in direct familial structural articulation with ego's elementary families of orientation and procreation. This is of extreme importance in the formation of the kinship pattern and partially explains it. To understand this properly, the kinship terms as separate entities must be forgotten and the total kinship system looked upon as a group of interlocking elementary familial units, in each of which there are certain social elements which have an intercellular unity and system of relations of their own.

Five of the patrilineal lines and all of the horizontal lines of generation interlock directly with ego's elementary families of procreation and orientation. The emotional content of the organized system of attitudes and behavior in ego's family is directly connected with the organized emotional content of the other families, and from these latter groups the larger structure and the total kinship system is constructed. The termination of the perpendicular patrilineal lines two generations above and below ego is partially accounted for by the fact that the direct contact with ego's elementary families stops exactly there, with marikmo on one end and maraitcha at the other. The only important personalities left out of this interlocking group of elementary families' structures are dumungur (lower left-hand corner of the kinship chart), mari (male), marelker and momelker. The mari-male and momelker personalities cluster about the mokul rumeru entity. These people all belong to her family of orientation, since one is her father, one her mother (see also mari-kutara reciprocal, page 99 f.), and one her brother. She is in a critical relation to ego because she is the wife of gawel, who controls ego's chances of obtaining a wife. She is at the same time

[3] See Chart II, page 59, for these lines. The reader should use this chart throughout the present chapter.

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602 the daughter of mari. Mari and his wife momelker, who, as her parents, control her behavior, also stand in a powerful relation with gawel's mother (mari's sister): by virtue of the considerable control exercised by brothers over sisters and reflected through gawel's mother upon gawel, ego is given further power over gawel. It seems likely, in the light of what has just been said, that mokul rumeru's extreme importance has allowed her whole family of orientation to be given kinship personalities. The brother-brother, sister-sister, and for some purposes brother-sister equivalence has brought natchiwalker into the larger kinship group within which he is not a strong personality.

601 The Murngin familial structure is the fundamental basis of their social organization. In its simplest form it consists of restricted elementary families; in its more elaborate expression it includes the complicated extended kinship system which is built out of a formalization of a large number of elementary families. It also includes a further generalization of the kinship personalities into a grouping of lineage and descent called the subsection system, and finally a dual organization which divides the many totemic clans between the two moieties. We shall now examine the familial system of elementary families and the extended kin group and the latter structure's more general form, the subsection system.

The Kinship System

The Murngin system of reckoning kin, in common with those of other tribes of Australia where kinship structures have been studied, groups relatives by the Dakota classificatory method. That is, there is first a bifurcation of all the members of the group by a separation of the mother's kin from the father's, and, second, collateral relatives are merged with lineal ones through the operations of the principle of the equivalence of brothers. Everyone in the tribe and in all other tribes known to the Murngin is related to a given man and woman by this system of social recognition. A man's paternal uncles are addressed by the same term as his father because they are equivalent to the father in Murngin thinking. The same principle operates in the next ascending generation: the paternal grandfather and his brothers are given one term by the father's children. This logic holds in the classification of all seventy-one relatives found in the Murngin system; for example, the paternal grandfather's sons are called by the same term as the father because they are the male offspring of men given the same term as a man's own paternal grandfather. In other words, a large group of men

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and son, maternal uncle and sister's son. Every individual term represents a complex nexus of social behavior which creates a well-defined social personality. Each of these social personalities is but one element of the larger personality of each individual within the whole society, since each male has all the male terms in the kinship system applied to him, and every woman all the female terms.

Each of the reciprocals is considered below in structural order according to patrilineal line. The first relationships considered are those in a man's own line, beginning with those of his own generation—older and younger brother, brother and sister, and sister and sister. We next consider the collateral relatives in the patrilineal lines outside ego's own, beginning with the husband and wife relationship.

Wawa ⟷ *Yukiyuko* (older brother ⟷ younger brother)

The general type of this relationship has several varieties of which the natives are conscious when they use the two general terms. They comprise: (1) Two brothers from the same father and same mother; (2) two brothers from the same father and two mothers who are sisters; (3) from the same mother and two fathers who are brothers; (4) from two fathers who are brothers, and two mothers who are sisters; (5) brothers belonging to the same clan but only tribal in relationship; (6) brothers from nearby clans; (7) brothers from more remote clans and tribes. The intensity of behavior decreases from the first to the last mentioned; indeed, the last two varieties may have little in common with the other five; yet given normal conditions, the Murngin and other tribes with their type of kinship would consider it wrong if certain, though not all, of the rules regulating this relationship were broken. Hence it will be necessary to differentiate among the various kinds of brothers.[4]

The junior levirate is a prominent mechanism. When an older brother dies the brother next in age and consanguinity receives his wives and becomes father to the children. This is not only a privilege, but a duty. Frequently wives thus acquired, being past the age of bearing children or gathering food, are really an economic liability to the heir; yet he must take and look after them.

The junior levirate functions even before the death of the older brother. A gawel (father-in-law) is supposed to give his waku (son-in-law) all the female offspring from his own wives, but there is a

[4] An aborigine, speaking fair English, described the first two varieties as "my proper wawa," the third and fourth as "my proper wawa, but little bit different," the fifth as "close-up wawa," the sixth and seventh as "far-off wawas."

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593 764 dances in the mourning for him. All varieties of brothers within the clan are included, the activity being really more a clan than a fraternal function.

593 602 Among brothers within the clan fighting is not allowed, but among brothers who belong to adjoining clans warfare is quite common.

786 837 Although the Murngin and the other seven tribes who share their type of kinship have a very strong feeling against the younger brother's copulating with an older brother's wife under ordinary circumstances, there is a period among the peoples practicing the Gunabibi ceremony when sexual "license" is recognized and even demanded between brothers and their wives. This is, however, strictly regulated; only brothers from more distant clans would be invited and allowed to exchange wives for ceremonial copulation. The tribal ideal of this custom is that a few nights before the end of the ceremony older brothers call their consanguine younger brothers and ask the latter to go to the nearby camp of the distant brothers in attendance at this ceremony, taking the older men's wives with them. The older brothers in the visitors' camp do likewise. The men and women paint themselves and go into the bush in the nearby jungle for copulation. The last night one woman may stay with several men, for a larger proportion of men than women always attend, since wifeless brothers usually enter into this ceremony. After a man has had intercourse with a tribal brother's wife, the husband puts his sweat on both of his guest's legs "so that he won't be sick from it." The men meanwhile have been [431] giving presents to the women for some time before the ceremony and the women turn the gifts over to their husbands, although they frequently keep part for themselves. In reality, there is an exchange of presents, as well as of wives, among these more distant brothers.

The above is a tribal ideal. Actually, copulation purely for pleasure [783 751] starts early in the ceremony, while the last night's indulgence is a purification rite supposed to cleanse a man and woman of impurities and to avoid illness during the period between the present ceremony and the next. The men and women have clandestine meetings, but it is generally known which people are having these assignations in the surrounding bush or jungle, and many broadly humorous remarks are passed by both sexes about their various lovers. However, some men and women would not enter into this earlier secret copulation, but would wait until the last night.[6]

[6] The ritual place of wife exchange and its significance are treated in the chapter on Murngin totemism, particularly pages 306-308.

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Yeppa ⟷ ***Wawa*** and ***Yukiyuko*** (sister ⟷ older and younger brother) 593 602

There are the same varieties of yeppa as of wawa and yukiyuko. There is little difference in the behavior of a yukiyuko-yeppa and a wawa-yeppa relationship, except that if yukiyuko is an adolescent or child, he will not have an older brother's control over his sisters; but if he is an adult he has as much influence in directing their affairs as has his older brother. Yeppa calls any brother born before her "wawa" and any brother born after her "yukiyuko," exactly as a man would. With the above reservation, we can treat the yukiyuko-yeppa and the wawa-yeppa relationships as one, remembering of course the varying degree of closeness in the relationship between wawa and yukiyuko, and realizing its effect on the relationship we are now considering.

The sister and brother relationship is surrounded with taboos. If a brother speaks in the hearing of his sister, tribal or blood, he utters his words in a low voice, since she is not supposed to hear him. She speaks in the same manner before him. He never talks to her directly, nor she to him. He does not use obscenities in front of her as he would before most women (including his mother, daughter's daughter, and father's sister), nor will he allow anyone else to indulge in such language before her in his presence. They never sleep in the same hut or camp except as infants. At a very early age they are separated. Yeppa always helps her brothers if they are involved in a fight. She would not only ask assistance of her relatives but also give aid herself unless she felt a divided loyalty, in which case she would, with the help of other women, try to prevent a fight. [576] [513]

A brother is like a second father to a sister. If she is caught in adultery he gives her a beating and, if not stopped, tries to kill her. When Daoper's wife ran off with Bengaliwe her near brothers gave her an unmerciful beating and might have killed her had not other relatives interfered. Even if a brother saw her own husband copulating with his sister, he would become angry and try to beat her. However, he is careful not to see them. 593 684

A yukiyuko always accompanies yeppa when she first goes to her husband's clan to live after their marriage. The brother is usually pre-adolescent, but sometimes he may be older. He is supposed to look out for his sister, seeing that she does not commit adultery, preventing other men from seducing her, and by his presence protecting her from ill treatment by her husband. 593 591

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593 [582 43] Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

[262 224] A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu, et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

[551] A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

593 601 There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." [176] Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, 593 no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her 195 presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's 831 anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't hear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

602 578 195 Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakmi (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

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Natjurili, a near-clan brother of the mother, heard the girl use this term. He, too, threw spears at all his sisters, tribal and blood.

A general camp fight was on; Dimala, who wanted the combatants to stop, cried, "Stop swearing at each other. If you don't stop calling each other names, I'll have to go throw spears at all my sisters."

If Malambunu had sworn at Badunga's near brother as he had at Badunga's sister, there would have been a quarrel and possible fight; such swearing between men, however, only happens when there is already a fight on. If Balli had sworn at Natjurili's mother or daughter, he would have done nothing.[7]

The person who swears most frequently at a man's sister is her husband, especially in a connubial quarrel. The husband is ego's dué, with whom he has one of the strongest relationships.

Yeppa ⟷ *Yeppa* (sister ⟷ sister)

There are the following varieties of this relationship: (1) sisters from the same father and mother and having the same husband; (2) sisters from the same father and mother but having different husbands; (3) sisters having the same husband but different fathers and mothers; (4) wives of brothers of one clan; (5) near-clan sisters; and (6) distant-clan sisters.

There are no taboos between sisters. Younger sisters are disciplined and protected by the older ones. The older ones also teach the younger ones how to make baskets, earn their living, and do the things they should as members of Murngin culture.

Bapa ⟷ *Gatn* (father ⟷ child)

There are five varieties of this relationship, in the following order of importance: (1) the blood father; (2) his brothers; (3) fathers more remote than the first two, but in the same clan; (4) fathers from nearby clans; and (5) fathers from remote clans.

A definite distinction is made between actual father and father's brothers, blood sons and brothers' sons; between father's own brothers and clan brothers of the father. Clan solidarity sharply divides fathers within and outside of the clan. There may or may not be a difference in the emotional attitude of a father and son from a nearby clan and a father and son from a more distant clan. The usual behavior between father and son generally does not hold between a distant son and

[7] There is some evidence that the father is also supposed to participate in the mirriri, but this feeling must be very weak since no concrete evidence was collected and it was spoken of but once by a Murngin man, and then only in passing.

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593 602 father; frequently, because of the opportunities of competition for women among distant groups, there are actual animosity and warfare.

Since older and younger brothers are clearly differentiated by separate terms, wawa and yukiyuko, and have a definitely regulated behavior toward each other, the relationship of bapa and his sons must be considered from this point of view. Does a father distinguish between older and younger sons, even though there is no term to express these functional differences and all sons are gatu? The answer is decidedly in the affirmative, as will be seen below from the chronologically ordered account of the normal relationship from the period before birth of the son until the death of both father and son.

262 When a "married" man has no children, he must observe a number of food taboos until a wife announces pregnancy. He cannot eat, whether he or another kills or gathers them, porcupine, emu eggs, snake eggs, iguana eggs, turkey eggs, crayfish, large barrimundi, or [851] crabs, until he acquires the right by old age. A child's birth removes all these taboos, but the child must be his, not a brother's.

787 842 843 The ideas surrounding birth give the father a prominent part in the procedure. The various spirits of the unborn and the dead live with the clan totems in the clan wells. As stated, a father dreams that the child comes to him, asking where it can find its mother, and enters the mother's vagina. The next day the man informs the wife that she is going to have a child, or, if it is his first child, to test the value of his dream he may keep it a secret. The natives believe these dreams are always true since a wife usually tells her husband a few days later that she has felt the movements of a child within her. The husband knows then that his dream is true. He sharpens his spears, rewraps his [771] spear-thrower, and prepares to go hunting, for he knows that he will be successful because his child has come from the totemic spirits within the water, bringing good luck with it. He kills an abundance of game and brings it home. A slight ceremony takes place, after which [862] he may eat all food, for, according to Murngin thought his wife having conceived, he is now a father. This removal of taboos on his diet furnishes one of the reasons for a man's eagerness to have children.

787 842 A child comes from its father's well on the father's clan territory, for clan descent is patrilineal. Sometimes the father may be in another part of the country and may dream that the child came from the well of the local clan. Then it would inherit not only its own clan's totems, but also those of the other, yet it would be a member only of his father's clan. The second water hole must belong to the same moiety

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as his father's; for a father to be Yiritja and the son Dua would be impossible. No man has ever dreamed such an unorthodox concept—either because the moiety idea is such a complete part of Murngin thought that their dreams conform to it, or the men who have such dreams place no importance upon them and forget or suppress them. At all events, a child, male or female, ordinarily inherits only its father's clan and totems, and occasionally inherits in addition totems of another clan. Further, the dream clearly demonstrates a sociological connection between father and child even before birth. The author has recorded no birth without the dream.

Sometimes a man steals another's wife while she is pregnant. The child when born is considered a member of the new man's clan; when he becomes older he usually returns to his own father's clan and identifies himself with it, although he may have strong attachments to his second father's group.

All this indicates that patrilineal inheritance is from the actual father and his group, and not from a different clan, though of the same moiety; it also shows the importance of the actual father in Murngin thought.

Several informants volunteered that a man must abstain from the tabooed foods until he has had a child, because the release from the taboo made him quiet and settled so he would stop running after other women and would stay in one place to take care of his wives, children, and parents-in-law. The social implications of this are very important. By becoming a father he has finally become a husband; he has extended his patrilineal line descendingly and thereby strengthened his own family; and, third, he has, also through this child, strengthened his relationship to his wife's brother, to gawel (father-in-law), mokul (mother-in-law), and marelker (mother-in-law's brother). For, instead of only one direct reciprocal relation, he now has an additional indirect reciprocation with each. His son (or daughter) calls his wife's brothers "gawel" and has a strong bond of mutual aid and obligation with them. His son calls ego's mother-in-law "mari" and has a strong untabooed attachment to her; and to marelker the son also has a strong emotional relationship because ego's marelker is mari to the son. The creation of these social personalities shows the enormous addition to one's kinship personality through the birth of a son, who strengthens ego's position, adding to his security within the clan, the tribe, and with other tribes.

On the other hand, the birth of a daughter is of equal importance.

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It gives the father added bonds with waku (his sister's son) because the latter becomes husband to the daughter; it strengthens his position with daughter's son, who is waku to ego's son. A man prefers a son, however, because of his value in the constant tribal feuds, not only through his own assistance and the aid he brings to his relations (as, of course, the daughter does through her marriage), but also because almost the entire ceremonial life of the father's clan and tribe is centered around the males. A son inherits the right to perform certain dances through his father and never through his mother. By a son's initiation into the various ceremonies the father's social participation is further increased as it would not be if the child were a daughter.*

Each clan has ceremonial leaders for one or all of the ceremonies it owns. The leadership is inherited by the oldest son if he is old enough. If not, the deceased father's next oldest brother inherits the right until the son is old enough; or at the death or senility of the second brother the son becomes leader. The course taken depends largely upon the personalities of the two men, but in all events the son is looked upon as the heir to these rights. Such ceremonial leadership makes of a person a kind of clan headman.

When a boy is to be circumcised (at from six to nine years of age), it is the father who decides the type of initiation ceremony. The other old men of the tribe confer with him as to time, place, and other arrangements. The father and the mother make presents to the man who paints the child's body in preparation for the initiation. The father is one of those who teach his son how to hunt, fight, and conduct himself in the best possible way in the practical affairs of life. If the father is a ceremonial leader he instructs his son in the routine of songs, dances, and words that make up the great ceremonies.

Before the actual circumcision the neophyte is sent on a journey through the country of the various clans to inform the people of the coming ceremony and to collect presents. The father may refuse to send his son if he wishes; or, if he wants the boy to go, he may order him to leave and to take a certain route. No one else could do this.

A father never corrects his children. This is left to other kin (see mari, nati, et cetera).

Fathers and sons often cooperate in making a canoe. A son must always acquiesce in a father's request for the use of a canoe, or of any of the son's property. A father occupies a place much like an older

*For a full account of the individual's change of status, see Chapter IV, Age Grading.

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593 Thus far, the whole relationship is one of solidarity, and little potentiality for conflict appears.

835 595 Murngin polygyny usually implies that a man will acquire wives throughout his lifetime. Through the operation of tribal laws a very old man frequently gets young girls for wives. All these women are arndi to the sons, but often young men cohabit clandestinely with their father's younger wives. These must be only tribal relatives of the sons' actual mothers. Even so, the practice is considered wrong, but the feeling is not strong enough to prevent a sexually active son from [578] cohabiting with a father's wife. Should the old man discover it, he would be very angry and reprove his son by calling him a dog, et cetera, but it is generally agreed that an old man beyond the age where sexual life interests him would not "growl very hard."

582 593 835 578 Sometimes when a son is too young to marry, a father may take his boy's galle as a wife (she is "small" arndi to the father) to keep someone else from getting her, because of the son's immaturity. The son would call this woman arndi until the father's death; then he inherits her and calls her galle. Any children born to her by the father would be called yukiyuko or yeppa and not gatu by the son. Frequently a son considers it his right to copulate with her (not openly), which causes the father much pain. The younger man would have abuse heaped on his head, but there would never be a fight over such a problem, or any other, between a father and son so long as they belonged to the same clan; however, a dispute between "sons" and "fathers" of different clans often leads to fights and occasional killings.

593 606 If a daughter runs away from her husband (the father's waku), the father with the aid of his sons brings the runaway back to his waku. She receives a beating from him and is advised to remain faithful to her husband. Quarreling daughters who are the wives of one man are instructed by their father to live in peace, for he considers the welfare of his waku of the greatest importance. He and her brothers [551] also keep his daughter's totemic name for her since she is not allowed to know it.

603 602 *Marikmo* ⟷ *Maraitchu* (diramo and mielk)[9] (father's father; father's father's sister ⟷ son's son; son's daughter; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter)

This relationship conforms to the father-children type, having the same five varieties as found in the bapa-gatu relationship.

[9] *Diramo*, man, male; *mielk*, woman, female.

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reason for this suspicion is that nati and kaminyer mielk are frequently lovers just as momo and kaminyer diramo are. It must be emphasized that they are not near relatives.

Nati takes a special interest in kaminyer diramo as a child; he and mari correct his manners and regulate his conduct more than any other relative does.

Nati is important not so much in direct relationship as indirectly. His marriage to mari mielk makes the relationship between nati and kaminyer much more important because mari mielk assumes a prominent place in a man's or woman's life. The fact that nati is the father of gawel and arndi also increases his importance.

Momo ⟷ *Kaminyer* (diramo and mielk) (father's mother ⟷ daughter's child)

Momo is of little direct influence in the life of kaminyer. She is frequently a sweetheart of his. This is of course not his father's mother, or any of her sisters or clan members, but a woman who stands in this tribal relation to him.

She carries the bones of a dead man, but it does not matter to his relatives or herself whether she does so, for the emotional and social bond is of too little consequence. She sometimes helps build kaminyer's first house when gawel gives him his daughter.

Mari ⟷ *Kutara* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother, mother's mother's brother ⟷ woman's daughter's child, sister's daughter's child)

There are four types of reciprocals in this group of mari and kutara, both terms being used for both sexes. We shall first consider mari diramo and kutara diramo.

Mari is ego's mother's mother's brother, and kutara is sister's daughter's son. There are other mari and kutara, but they have been built out of this fundamental relationship. The mari-kutara behavior is one of the most interesting reciprocals in the whole of this kinship system. The relationship is very close and has a considerable emotional quality to it.

Personal names are greatly treasured by the Murngin, and both men and women receive them from their mari, such names being more important in daily life than those obtained from a marikmo. Besides the ordinary personal names given by a mari, one also obtains any nickname that might have been given to mari through some peculiar circumstance in the latter's life. The boy's father decides what names

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shall be given, which means that the father chooses the names from his marelker.

Kutara and mari always come to each other's assistance in times of danger. When a camp quarrel is being aired kutara invariably stands at mari's side. If one of them is killed the other will aid the avenging party. A black magician's tales of his killings speak of a mari who had lost his kutara in a spear fight and had come to the magician for aid to buy back his kutara's life. The sorcerer slew the kutara's killer by magic, and the mari paid for it with many handsome gifts.

Presents are always being exchanged between kutara and mari. When ranga string is being given away after some of the big ceremonies, mari and kutara are always prominent in the exchanges.

When kutara dies mari's spirit always comes for him, along with marikmo's. If the deceased was a young man, the dead mari's spirit condemns his relatives for not giving the child better treatment and for not preventing his death. They always explain to his mari's spirit that they have done all they could to keep him alive. Mari helps marikmo's spirit take the dead soul back to its totemic water hole and helps protect it against the evil ghosts who try to steal kutara's soul. So, in death as in life, mari is kutara's protector and guide. In the Djungguan circumcision ceremony mari's totemic name is always called out by his kutara, as is marikmo's, and it is believed that the spirit of mari appears at that time, although it is not seen.

Mari is usually the person who really teaches kutara his manners. Mari is powerful not only because of his direct relationship with kutara, but also indirectly, for he is father of mokul (mother-in-law) and marelker (mokul's brother); he is marelker to kutara's bapa, and wawa or yukiyuko to mari mielk, who is mother to kutara's gawel.

The fact that mari is father to kutara's mokul, the woman with the strongest taboos around her and one who is very important to kutara, gives kutara a strength he would not otherwise possess. He can force mokul to give her daughter to him if the mokul is unfair about it, since mari can put pressure not only on her but on her husband, who is gawel to kutara. Mari occupies, because of this relationship with kutara's gawel and mokul, one of the most powerful positions. A man's whole position, security and well-being demand that he have a number of wives and children; he must look to gawel and mokul for the fruition of his wishes: if his mari and he are on good terms, which nearly always holds true, his mari will force these two to help him. In other words, the relatives with whom ego is weakest are those with

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whom his mari is strongest, and the latter's position in both power and relationship is exactly the opposite of his kutara's.

Mari mielk also occupies a position of considerable importance. She looks out for kutara when he is small. Instances of a man's having a *greater affection for his mari mielk than for his own arndi* were recorded several times. Mari mielk corrects the children when they are mischievous or bad-mannered. Chastisement is hardly ever practiced, but ridicule is effectively used. Her name is also called out in the sacred Djungguan ceremony when a boy is being initiated. She sometimes helps build the house for a man to live in after gawel has given him a wife. She can always be depended on for food. Kutara would also remember her, as he would her brother, if he had killed any game. When kutara kills his first emu or kangaroo, she helps carry the bones when they have been painted with red ocher, just as she carries kutara's bones after his death. She is important by indirect relationship, because she is mother of ego's mother and gawel, mokul bapa to ego's mokul rumeru, and mokul rumeru to his bapa.

To sum up, the relationships of mari diramo to kutara diramo and of mari mielk to both the female and male kutaras are the most important in the second ascending and descending generation, whereas the relationship of mari diramo and kutara mielk is of little importance.

Mokul ⟷ *Gurrong* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's brother's daughter ⟷ father's sister's daughter's children)

There are two types of this relationship, built on the fact that there are a male and a female gurrong. The relationship between mokul and gurrong diramo is very important, but that of the two women is of no significance. We will consider only the former. The fundamental fact is that mokul is the mother of gurrong's wife, and to her he is the man to whom she gives her daughter in marriage.

There are five varieties of mokul: (1) the actual daughter of ego's mother's mother's brother and mother of ego's wife; (2) the mothers of ego's wives who come from distant clans; (3) the daughters of actual mari, but not the mothers of ego's wives; (4) the daughters of near mari; and (5) the daughters of mari from distant clans. The two most important are the first and second, the third having a very strong emotional content; but as regards taboos the behavior toward all of them is more or less the same.

The whole relationship of mokul and gurrong is one of complete.

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602 606 mutual avoidance. He cannot speak to her; she cannot speak to him. He does not look at her; she does not look at him. They do not hand any article to each other or use each other's names. Should they meet on a path they each turn aside and walk past with their eyes averted. There is no direct contact between the two, except in very unusual cases or in times of great emotion, such as during a fight, when a man or a woman is not aware of what he is doing. Their whole relationship is an indirect one.

602 867 A child before circumcision is exempt from the avoidance rules because he is considered too young to understand them. After this he is told to observe all of them in his relationship with all his mokul. A young mokul is also told at an early age that she must observe all the taboos surrounding gurrong. If a mokul has become very old it is possible to talk to her, receive food, and be near her, but the relationship is always most formal and reserved.

602 753 606 Should a mokul or gurrong disobey any of the taboos unwittingly (it would happen in no other way), a sore or large swelling would appear in the groin of the offender. Several persons were so afflicted, and all their tribesmen believed them to have broken this taboo and to be suffering the penalty.

602 606 Mokul and gurrong may be near each other around the same fire. An observer would not notice their avoidance unless aware of the custom and the relationship of the individuals; it then becomes quite marked.

602 606 431 This taboo does not imply any animosity between the two, their indirect relationship usually being most pleasant. A man is proud of his mokul and boasts of her kindness to him. She always sends him food and her most prized possessions through her daughter, and he sends presents to her through his wife. She, too, is equally proud of her gurrong, and tells of his many kindnesses to her.

602 606 [586] If a man's galle misbehaves, mokul would always help him discipline her. Only in cases of extreme cruelty would the wife's mother take her part against the husband. If a gurrong is neglectful of his duty in giving presents to his parents-in-law, there is always a chance that, during the early part of a marriage before there are any children, the daughter will be taken away from him. The mokul takes a prominent part in this action, for she feels that he must look out for her.

A mokul who misbehaved herself as a wife to gawel would find her gurrong against her and he would help gawel punish her.

For a full appreciation of her relationship to gurrong, it is neces-

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sary to read the account of the gawel-waku reciprocal, keeping in mind that this waku is her gurrong when she is wife of the gawel.

Mokul and gurrong mielk are not taboo to each other. This relationship has no restrictions upon it.

Marelker ⟷ *Gurrong* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's children)

The same varieties of the marelker-gurrong relationship are found among the Murngin as the mokul-gurrong, since marelker is the brother of mokul; but the marelker-gurrong relationship, as well as that of marelker and gurrong diramo, is quite different. Avoidance and restraint are lacking between marelker and gurrong diramo; the two men are frequently together, particularly if ego has a son, because marelker is mari to the boy. Marelker is as fond of the child as its father and shows it as much attention. Gurrong makes presents to marelker whenever he gives anything to mokul, for as marelker is mokul's brother he has considerable control over her. The only taboo between the two men is that neither uses the other's personal names.

Marelker diramo and gurrong mielk are partly taboo to each other. They do not speak each other's names, and because of the moiety are sexually taboo. One of the most amusing stories in Murngin folk lore is an account of marelker seducing his female gurrong, the whole point of the story being that marelker is made to do the very things he is supposed to avoid in his daily behavior with gurrong.

Natchiwalker ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's son ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

This relationship is built on the pattern of the nati-kaminyer reciprocity. Natchiwalker is important largely as a brother of momelker. His name is taboo to dumungur, and dumungur's is taboo to him.

Momelker ⟷ *Dumungur* (diramo and mielk) (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter ⟷ father's sister's daughter's daughter's child)

Momelker is taboo to dumungur diramo just as fully as mokul is to gurrong diramo. She is the mother of mokul and she is also mokul to ego's gawel. Ego therefore uses the same behavior to her as does his gawel. There are no taboos between momelker and dumungur mielk. This relationship is unimportant.

There are the following varieties of momelker: (1) blood mother

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602 of mokul; (2) sisters of the first; (3) those from nearby clans; and (4) those from distant clans. There are the same varieties of natchiwalker, except that in the case of the first, he is the brother of the actual mother.

Kinship Personality of Ego

Ego's kinship personality is best summarized in Chart III. Here all the relations which are described in this chapter are found as a total

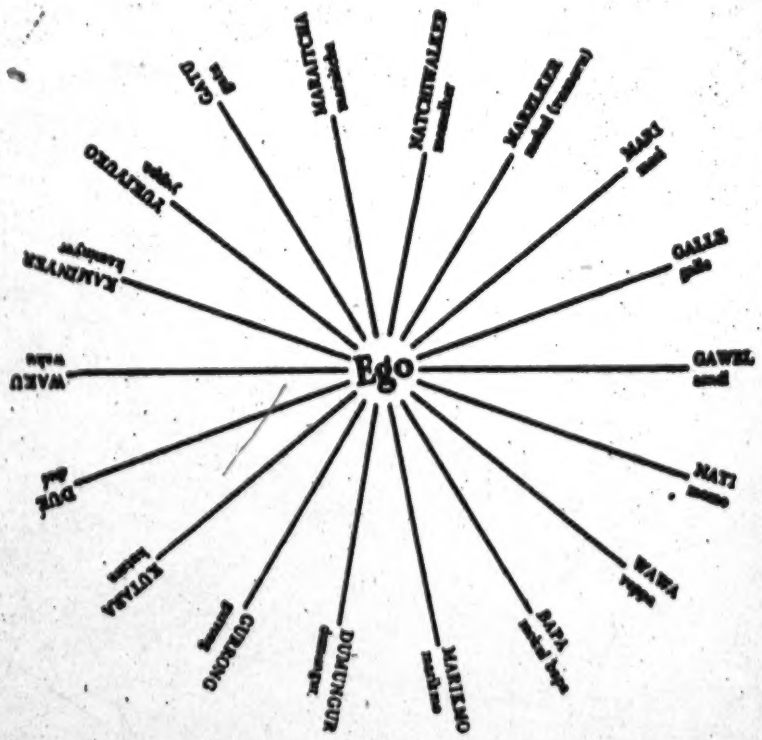

CHART III.—EGO'S KINSHIP PERSONALITY

of ego's kinship personality (except those between two women, if ego is a man, and vice versa); not only is ego wawa to yukiyuko, but he is yukiyuko to an older man he calls wawa; not only is he dumungur to natchiwalker, but he is natchiwalker to another man who is dumungur to him.

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The small letters are for women; the larger type designates men. The figure shows that: (1) ego is all the male terms; (2) he is in direct relation to every female term; and (3) he is only indirectly concerned with the reciprocal relations of women. The reverse of these statements is true if ego is a woman.

Ego, as an expression of only one part—the kinship organization—of Murngin culture, is an extremely complex social personality. We must remember that he is a member of a tribe, a clan, and moiety; of a totemic system; of an economic group; of a system of mythology, ceremony and belief; and of many other mechanisms.

Each individual feels it is his right rather than his duty to keep his part of the system working; hence the proper functioning of the whole. A proper marriage is preferred because a Murngin man and woman usually feel that they have a right to each other, since their relationship has destined them to marriage. This is true of all the behavior of all the personalities in the system.

Nevertheless, wrong marriages occur (see also pages 26, 27). The Murngin have arranged a rather simple scheme to make the new marriage fit into the general kinship system and adjust the relationships of the offspring to other members of the society.

If one of ego's own family marries wrong, the relationship term of the woman this person married is changed so that it fits what she would be called were she the proper galle of ego's relative. Thus, when ego's own galle is taken by bapa, the former no longer calls her galle, but arndi. This is true throughout. When natchiwalker marries ego's mokul instead of ego's momelker, ego no longer calls the woman mokul, but momelker; yet the correct term for the woman is known, as will be seen presently.

When children are born from a wrong marriage, the father calls them by the terms all other parents give their children (gatu). But everyone else calls the children by the term used if the mother had married normally. To use the native expression, "The father is thrown away."[13] There is only one exception: if a father marries ego's galle, ego would not call the children gatu, but wawa and yeppa. In all other cases the rule would hold; if ego's father married ego's momelker, ego would call the offspring marelker and mokul, and not brother and sister. There are recorded cases of this. When natchiwalker marries

[13] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. *Journal*, London, 1913, Vol. XLIII, pages 143-194.

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582 mokul and the mokul is ego's mother's mother's blood-brother's daugh-
601 ter, he looks to this mokul to give him a daughter for his wife. Any offspring from the union would be called galle by ego.

This simple arrangement always keeps the kinship system functioning smoothly. The odd arrangement of the relatives created within the local clan has already been discussed in Chapter II.

614 A child inherits its totem from its father. When the totemic emblem
602 is shown to the boy for the first time the father or clan leader says, "This is your father," or "your grandfather." The boy will always call it by one of these terms. Most men call their totem "father." Their mother's totem is called arndi or gawel, and the totems of other clans are traced by the nearest relative in these clans. If this relative is marelker, for instance, and he calls the totem father, ego would use the term mari for it. Since most of the mythology is connected with the totems and ceremonies, kinship permeates the whole of Murngin culture. Its relationship to the mythological system will be considered later.

Principles of Murngin Kinship Structure

611 The two main elements in Murngin kinship are the patrilineal lines and their lateral connections through the intermarriage of the five generations of the seven lines of descent.

Perpendicular Relationships

601 All perpendicular relationships are *strong* and *unbreakable* since they
611 are patrilineal lines of fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters,
614 belonging to the same totemic clans and interlocking families. Distant *tribal* relatives called father, son, et cetera, are not under consideration. Clan solidarity and family cohesion prevent strife among the relatives who fit into the perpendicular relationship. If ego, for our purposes, is shifted one line to the right, he takes galle's place, and gawel becomes his father; or if he is shifted to the left to dumungur, this again is a father and son line of descent. Each of the seven lines of descent is built out of the restricted family, which preserves its continuity by the patrilineal laws that regulate descent from fathers to sons. The mother, although still considered a member of her father's clan, is through her children firmly bound to *their* clan. To be fully understood, her position must also be considered from the point of view of sister—she must be seen as a sister to her brother no less than as ego's mother.

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all sisters accentuates the ritualistic nature of the spear-throwing. Emotionally, throwing at several women instead of one is more satisfactory since the feelings linked with the mirriri are intense and need much activity to vent them.

Mari ⟷ Kutara Solidarity

As has been said, the lateral structure of the Murngin kinship system is potentially weak. The gawel-waku reciprocal is no exception, because of the change of daughter to wife and because gawel may not give his daughter to his proper waku. This relationship is most decidedly strengthened by the addition of the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines of descent. The reason is simple. Ego's mari is gawel to ego's own gawel. This places ego's gawel in the same weak position toward ego's most generous and helpful friend (mari) as that in which ego finds himself toward his own gawel. Many natives have been recorded as saying the following: "Mari is the boss of my mokul rumeru and gawel and helps me get my galle." Through the mari-kutara tie there is strength between gawel and waku, so that a solid bond is established from mari in the second ascending generation and second lateral line to the right of ego, and kutara in the second descending generation and second lateral line to the left of ego.

Kutara inherits mari's personal names, hence an identity of personality in names. Since names are of the utmost importance in Murngin thought and there is a feeling of sameness about things bearing the same name, the great solidarity between mari and kutara can be understood. Even after mari's death he still comes to kutara's aid. He is an eternal source of health and comfort to kutara. The latter, usually a younger man, is also a great help to mari, for he can give physical aid in time of war, is an active huntsman, and, all in all, usually participates in the social life as a mature male still in his prime. Moreover, they belong to the same moiety, and frequently to the same clan, which adds to the strength of the positive relationship.

An examination of the kinship structure demonstrates the reasons for this solidarity. Mari's kutara uses the term gawel for the man who is in the relationship of waku to mari. In other words, the person to whom kutara stands in the weakest relationship, his gawel, is a social personality with whom kutara's mari is in exactly the opposite relationship—mari is strong with kutara's gawel where kutara is weak. Mari's relationship in this case is positive while kutara's is negative.

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601 Mari balances this weakness in the gawel-kutara relationship by his
607 complete solidarity with kutara.

The whole system can be given algebraic expression if we allow a negative or weak relationship to be symbolized by a minus sign and a positive or strong relationship by a plus. Chart VI illustrates and demonstrates clearly the dynamic equilibrium established in the kinship structure by reciprocation. It has in it, as will be shown later, explanations of the extent and limitation of the Murngin kinship structure.

Beginning with ego and examining the ascending relationships, we see that the short arrow, symbolizing the exchange of daughters and

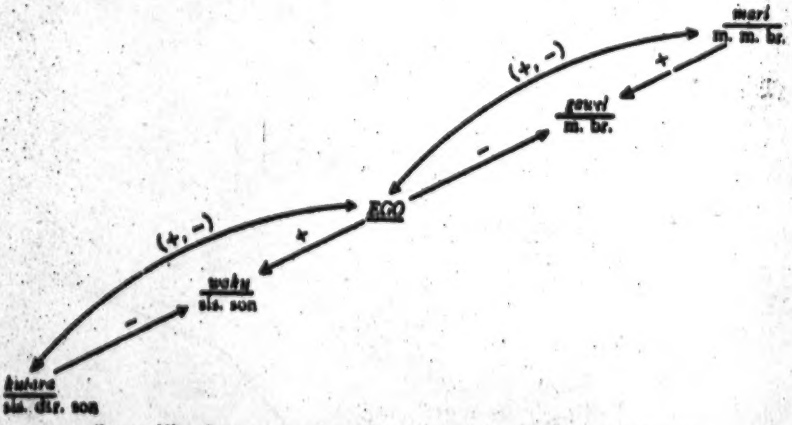

CHART VI.—STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE MURNGIN KINSHIP SYSTEM

gifts between ego and gawel, shows that ego is in a negative or weak position. The same situation obtains between ego's gawel and mari, for gawel is in the position of waku to ego's mari just as ego is in that position to gawel; and in the descending generations the situation is reversed, for ego is powerful in his relations with waku, whereas the latter is weak; the waku-kutara reciprocation is the same (for waku is gawel to ego's kutara). All the charts and all relatives in this chapter are presented from the point of view of ego. In Chart VI (to recapitulate before continuing), the arrow pointing from ego to gawel shows ego to be in a weak or minus relationship with gawel; from ego's point of view the arrow pointing from mari to gawel symbolizes that ego's mari is in a strong or plus relationship with gawel. The position is exactly reversed in the descending generations. The arrow running

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from ego to waku shows ego to be in a plus relationship with his sister's son, while the arrow pointing from kutara to waku shows that from ego's point of view kutara is in a minus relationship with his son-in-law (waku). These four relationships show two pluses and two minuses equally distributed on each side of ego.

The longer arrows (starting from ego) show that ego (who is kutara to mari) and mari both stand in a relationship which is completely balanced, as does ego with kutara in the descending relationship. The plus-minus relationship, both ascendingly and descendingly, in the mari-kutara relationship expresses the symmetrical balance that exists in the negative and positive relationships that obtain because of the intermediate relative—an equilibrium has been established in the kinship structure. The two plus signs are balanced by the two minus signs to both the right and the left of ego. Mari's antagonism for his son-in-law (ego's gawel) can be expressed by his help and sense of solidarity with ego (his kutara), and ego's sense of weakness with his gawel is compensated for by his feeling of strength when in association with mari.

The social personality of gawel is balanced by the two. He feels strong with his waku and weak with his own gawel, but the very solidarity of mari and kutara strengthens him, for his gawel (ego's mari) will do nothing to harm his interests when the person gawel stands strongest with, ego (his waku), is also strong with gawel's own gawel. Obviously the whole Murngin kinship structure, particularly in its lateral expressions, is a system of checks and balances and establishes a dynamic equilibrium in the kinship structure.

At first sight, the enormous extent of a Murngin kinship system seems unexplainable and almost fantastic. There seems no reason for the spread of the lateral lines. With the asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage system three lines of descent are automatically created: ego's line, the mother's line (which is ego's marrying line), and the sister's husband's line. They must be recognized by the culture because all people are counted as relatives.

Shall there be a recognition of a new line of relatives and the creation of a new set of social personalities? Or shall this additional line of kin be "thrown back" into one's own patrilineal line and called by the same terms as those found in each generation of ego's line? The latter expedient is used to set the final limits on the Murngin kinship structure. When the line beginning with natchiwalker in the upper right-

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hand corner of the kinship chart marries into the line at its right, this new line is again called the mari, mokul, marelker line to terminate the system.

The new line of kin, however, is necessary if the asymmetrical type of marriage is to remain stable, since, as has already been explained, the mari-kutara reciprocal creates an equilibrium in the kinship structure by balancing the inequalities of the gawel-waku reciprocal. Momelker and natjiwalker are important because the former is the mother of ego's mother-in-law and the latter is the brother of this woman. Dumungur, reciprocal of these terms, is emotionally important because, from the point of view of momelker and natchiwalker, he is the person who has a feeling of taboo for them since the woman is his mother-in-law's mother.

Marelker is mari's son. He follows his father's behavior toward ego. He later will be ego's son's mari. He treats ego's children with all the affection of a mother and father. He is gawel to ego's galle (wife's brother) to whom ego stands in the potentially weak relationship of dué. The whole mari-marelker line and gurrong-kutara line add a check to the gawel-galle line and balance the kinship system.

The momelker relationship is built out of the mokul rumeru behavior. Ego acts to her as his gawel does (she is gawel's mokul). She is the mother of mokul rumeru, the natives say; and just as one avoids a mother of one's wife, so one avoids her mother. The natchiwalker line also acts as a check on the mari line and further balances the kinship system as it stands in the relation of gawel and galle to mari-marelker line of descent.

Murngin Subsections

The Murngin, like the Kariera and Arunta relatives, are regrouped into larger reciprocal divisions. Professor Radcliffe-Brown has called these divisions "sections" when they number four, as among the Kariera; and "subsections" when they number eight, as among the Arunta. His brilliant paper also for the first time recognized the true importance of these divisions and gave them the formulary expression used in this book.[18]

The Murngin system shares many elements with the two major types of section and subsection found in Australia, but in certain respects it does not conform to either.

[18] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania*, Vol. I, 1930.

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quantities regularly in certain spots along the coast. These eggs are greatly relished by the natives.[8]

3. Kinship Customs

The enlargement of a Murngin's economic behavior is dependent on two factors: (1) the horde; and (2) certain reciprocals in the kinship structure. All the relatives of a Murngin ordinarily exchange gifts with him, but certain kinship personalities do this much more than others. The mother's brother—sister's son relationship has been seized upon as the mechanism for enlarging the economic life of a Murngin man. "Far-off" wakus and gawels are sought by a man, distant not only socially but geographically; the greater distance a man has between him and a trading waku or gawel, the greater pride he exhibits when displaying articles sent or brought to him by his relative, and the greater satisfaction he feels when sending or returning gifts. (See chapter on kinship, page 95.)

The mari-kutara relationship is much the same, except that there is a tendency to indulge in ritual gifts much more than in those from the ordinary material culture. The feathered string which has been the decorative covering of the totemic poles is sent by mari or kutara to the other. This exchange of ritual goods plays a prominent part in the economic life of the people, since if a mari receives a gift from kutara he must, in a not too great period of time, return a present of like ritual value. The finely turned string, often used as ritual string, is usually made by women, at times hundreds of feet of it. It is generously covered with birds' feathers and used on one of the larger totem poles. Obviously a great amount of work on the part of the women and the killing of a large number of birds is required to meet the needs of ritual exchange. Only the red feathers from the breasts

[8] The people of the various areas, particularly those west and east of the Goyder, are always accusing each other of cannibalism. The author can vouch that no cannibals are present among the peoples east of the Goyder and roughly in the Murngin area. The Murngin tell a number of stories of the people south of Cape Stewart which to them prove the existence of cannibalism there. Some of them claim they have seen men's baskets filled with meat which was neither kangaroo nor dunong and which they were convinced was human flesh. In one account I collected, the narrator described watching a cannibal feast. The victim, a large man, was carved and prepared for cooking. There is much scornful joking among the Murngin about these people to the west of them. When they think they see human flesh in the basket of one of these people they say, "Ah, what is this one?" and another Murngin replies, "Oh, that's a kangaroo," with a sarcastic inflection in his voice. The other one says, "Yes, but it doesn't smell just like kangaroo," to which the reply is made, "Oh, well, maybe it's only a dead man."

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283 of the red-breasted parrot can be used for certain totemic emblems.
237 To collect a sufficient supply of red feathers to put on such totems as
431 their fire, woman and other Dua moiety totemic emblems demands considerable industry not only on the part of the totem makers in their daily hunting and robbings of birds' nests but also in gift exchanges. This means that red ocher and other body paints, spear heads from the interior, carved wooden spears from the coastal belt, and other objects of economic value must be had to trade. Small white feathers from hawks' breasts and from the sulphur-crested cockatoo and the blue-eyed corella are also used for the string of many totems. The larger feathers of the cockatoos and the yellow crest of the sulphur-crested cockatoo are used for the great ritual headdresses made by the
[314] men with the aid of adhesive gathered from the ironwood tree and the honeybee's hive. Ironwood resin makes a very hard, durable cement and is used for many purposes for which the beeswax is too malleable.
[237] Ordinarily the beeswax is preferred for the molding of head pieces because the proper shapes can be more easily obtained.

431 Obviously the extension of the kinship personality of a man by the exchange of gifts between far-off relatives or the strengthening of the
●602 bonds between near kin such as mari and kutara definitely stimulates economic enterprise. More labor is necessary than if these mechanisms were not present. The goods themselves take on higher value from
[178] their use in the totemic ceremonies; the totemic strings absorb some of the clan ceremonial power and, once used, are taboo to the uninitiated. They are of course valuable in another ritual since they will be used by the receiver for his own totemic emblem and then be passed on to other reciprocating relatives.

4. *Property*

423 Relating Murngin technological articles to human beings by the concept of ownership is one of the methods of controlling and regulating this society's adaptation to the natural environment, since it incorporates the various articles of technology into the general social order. The Murngin concepts of property are developed into a variety of forms according to the type of thing owned. Land is divided among
[614] the clans; and definite areas and their natural objects such as trees, water holes, and the like are considered as belonging to these exogamic
423 units. Derivatively the moieties are also supposed to have an "owning"
616 relationship to the land areas of the country. This means that not only are spatial divisions organized by the separation of all things on the

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628 only because of warfare, and, conversely, is a decided factor in stimulating open conflict because of the resultant scarcity of women.

628 The kinship system of the Murngin, with its attendant set of obligations, duties, rights and privileges stated sufficiently often before, tends 602 to enlarge the scope of a two-clan feud to four or possibly all of the 182 clans of the several tribes. The waku-gawel relationship, and also the duć-galle, mari-kutara, and marelker-gurrong relationships express a very strong solidarity; and a man can depend upon any one of these relatives, distributed in eight or more clans besides his own, to come to his assistance. An isolated killing, owing to the strength of the kinship structure, usually results in the whole of northeastern Arnhem Land becoming a battle ground at fairly frequent intervals.

Kinship solidarity extends warfare but also has the opposite tendency: that of limiting its scope when it has reached very large proportions. All the clans are interrelated, and generally many will find their loyalties divided, for the kinship through marriage of certain members of a clan will dictate their helping one faction, while other members will be compelled by the laws of kinship to aid the other side. Since the solidarity of the clan prevents members fighting among themselves, those clans whose loyalties are divided usually try to pacify the warring ones. In a makarata, frequently arranged by them, they will usually be found doing all they can to have this peace-making ceremony end successfully.

Ceremony, Myth, and Warfare

796 People who gather to celebrate the great totemic ceremonies, such as the Gunabibi, Djungguan, or Narra rites, come from clan terri- 484 tories sometimes hundreds of miles apart. The leaders for the Gunabibi ceremony, for instance, frequently come up through the interior from the headwaters of the Roper River in the south to the mouth of the Goyder. Members from all the tribes in the northern Arnhem Land district attend yearly. A ceremony assumes greater importance the larger the number of people present and the greater the distance they have come. A man always brags about how far he traveled, how many clans he visited on his pilgrimage to invite the various peoples to his circumcision, and how many people attended.

628 Warfare is in direct opposition to ceremony. It tends to destroy the larger group solidarity and ultimately to reduce the people who are at peace with each other to the clan unit, since only here is there absolute assurance that fighting cannot take place.

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C11 any identification between those of the same moiety). But females serve as an agent or link in the transmission of rights and prestige (status and privilege), not through their patri-line, but through their matri-line. They are, so to speak, a channel through which this knowledge passes: knowledge from their M.F. which they have no right to hold themselves, but which comes to their male children. They serve as links, that is between EGO's m. and m.m., allowing EGO to receive this knowledge through the nominal head of his M.M.F.'s patri-line or *baburn;* this head is the M.M.B. This knowledge does not come through a man's M.B. There is no such link between EGO and his M.B., for the latter is too deeply involved with his own *baburn* and his *maribula*, which would be EGO's NGADIWALGUR's patri-line. This comes from a man to his d., and passes through her d. to the latter's son; but as the knowledge is in the hands of a man's son, upon his death it may be taken for all intents and purposes to pass from this custodian, via his sr. and sr.d., to his Sr.D.S.

B. *Three Forms of Descent.* Now, we may observe that we are dealing with three forms of descent as indicated in the structure of the Wulamba kinship. The first is the patri-line (or line of patrilineal descent); the *second* is EGO's mother's patri-line; and the third is the "line of inheritance" EGO's so-called "line of matrilineal descent." Each of these must be examined in order that we may know the nature of each, with a view to arriving at a definition.

C. *Line of Patrilineal Descent.* The line of patrilineal descent consists of all males and all females descended from a common forefather of the third ascending generation, in an unbroken male line. It is an agnatic descent group and strictly unilateral. The females belong to it in name, but lose their formal identity upon marriage outside the descent line. They serve as "agents" through which their male children may achieve some recognition (status) in the cult life of their M.B. Further, they serve as "links" through which their daughter's male children can gain recognition from their MARI.

The male members of this line of patrilineal descent are, in a manner of speaking, a descent group. We shall return to this aspect later. We may, however, say that all the male members of this line, as well as female members, belong to a patri-line. For our purpose here the "patri-line" and the "line" of [C13] patrilineal descent are to all intents and purposes one and the same. Moreover, this patri-line must not be viewed as a lineage, although we will discuss this, too, later.

D. *EGO's Matri-Line.* Now a man's mother's patri-line is of the same nature as the patri-line: strictly unilineal descent through males, traced to the third ascending generation, and including females who are siblings in each generation level. Females are agents or links, through which, on the one hand, their sons can obtain recognition in the cult life of their B., and, on the other, their d.'s sons gain recognition in their patri-line.

● G02 A man's patri-line is of one moiety, his mother's patri-line of the opposite
G11 moiety. A man's association with the cult life of his mother's patri-line is of a
[C16] "submerged" nature. Through his physiological connection with his mother, he must inevitably have some "rights" in her patri-line; but he can never as-

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sume a dominant rôle in any of its corporate activities. He can become initiated into its cult "mysteries," certain aspects can be revealed to him; but, however much he may know about these, he remains virtually an outsider. 602 611

A man's submerged association with the mother's line of descent may be viewed in terms of mutual aid. It is described in the following way. A man's bones are made from seminal fluid, his flesh from his mother's blood. A male of one moiety and a female of the other have combined in mutual "work" (i.e., *djama*, "work," sexual intercourse) and through their efforts formed the fetus. Because of his bones, the enduring part of his physical body, and because of the patri-ancestor who animated his fetus, a man may be acknowledged a member of his patri-line. But because his mother gave him his flesh, so to speak, he has some connection with her patri-line. Because he has only flesh from her, he cannot handle the sacred emblem poles of her patri-line. But his bones are really his father's *baburu* sacred poles; and because of this, and because of his ancestor's spirit, he attains full status in his father's patri-line. Because his mother co-operated with his father in bringing about his birth, because she added something to his physical being, he must always assist in the ceremonies of his mother's patri-line. When men perform on their sacred ground, those of the opposite moiety aid them in minor dancing, in singing, in calling invocations. But they may never handle the sacred emblems, never impersonate their ancestors; the cloak of spiritual sacredness may never descend upon them. A parallel with the Nuba may be drawn here (Nadel 1947:213). 602 611 842 [826] [616] [171]

Within the mother's patri-line one finds relationships such as *momo*, NGADI, GALWAL, *yandi*, GALEI, *galei*; intimacy with the females with the *galei*, sexual intimacy, with the *yandi* and *momo*, freedom of expression, lack of constraint; formal constraint with the males, GALEI, NGADI and GALWAL. There too, ideally speaking, are the M.Bros. of each generation of males of the patri-line. This is EGO's avunculine; its importance to EGO depends on the importance of the M.B. 602 611

E. MARI-GU'DARA Line of Inheritance. The third line of descent is of a different nature: it signifies EGO's descent or inheritance through females to the third ascendant generation level, headed by a male, linking EGO with the patri-line of his m.m. This is not the "matrilineal descent line" spoken of by Radcliffe-Brown, when a man is followed by his Sr.S. Murdock (1949:13, 44) and Herskovits (1949:290), for example, have given us definitions relating to matrilineal descent. Do these conform with what we find among the Wulamba? First, we may observe that this "descent line" cutting diagonally across the structure of the system does not mean that EGO is assigned exclusively to that group (consisting of all females of that line and their male siblings): i.e., it does not assign a person t o his mother's kin group. If the latter were inferred, this would mean that EGO would be affiliated with female and male members of both his mother's patri- and matri-lines. Now we may be prepared to say that by matrilineal descent we mean that a person belongs to his mother's "family," but that for purposes of inheritance and succession this is traced 611

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through females to a named or presumed female ancestress, i.e., from S. to m., to m.m., and so on. To Radcliffe-Brown (1952:36) matrilineal succession means that "the greater part of the body of rights of an individual . . . are derived by him through his mother and cannot be transmitted to his children but devolve upon his sister's children." This is obviously what is meant by matrilineal descent: rights, power, privileges, etc., conferring, supplementing, or withholding membership in the group which forms the descent line, "flow" down through a man's female siblings and are held only for the span of their lifetimes by male children of these female siblings. In this way a privilege (e.g. may be held by a man who obtained it through his m., from her M.B.: the principle is inheritance and succession through a M.B. to Sr.S. But in our Wulamba structure, descent is different: the M.B. is not in the position to hand on any more than rights, privileges, and entree into the cult life of his own patri-line: he has, of course, as I have indicated, some affinity with the patri-line of his mother, but his main interests lie in his own patri-line and in that of his own MARI-GU'DARA inheritance line. Within this context, then, the M.B. is of little importance and is not a factor for consideration.

When we say that an EGO traces descent back from his m. to his m.m. and back to a female ancestress, this is matrilineal descent, and females serve as agents in transmitting. In the Wulamba case, an EGO's m. and m.m. are agents who serve as connecting links (not being themselves transmitters). But what they serve to represent is not such a matrilineal sequence, for it is the patri-line of the m.m. which holds that which is to be transmitted. That is to say, the knowledge an EGO receives from his maternal grandparent, a male, belongs to his same moiety: it "skips" a generation, and also a moiety. It is really an oblique line of inheritance from the head of a person's m.m.'s patri line, this head being his M.M.B., of the same moiety as himself and closely identified with (possibly one and the same as) the head of his own patri-line. We can call this the MARI-GU'DARA line of inheritance. One of its principal functions is to strengthen patriliny.

III. DEFINITIONS

Thus we may state that patrilineal descent is a dominating factor in Wulamba society. The patri-line is reinforced by the MARI-GU'DARA line of inheritance, while there is a "submerged" relationship between a person and his mother's kin, i.e., agnatically, because of the importance of the patri-line. But there is no acknowledged matrilineal descent, whether of a submerged nature or otherwise.

Thus a patri-line signifies descent through males to an acknowledged common progenitor in the second or third ascending generation levels, and includes male siblings of each generation level. These form the active members of the patri-line. The females of a patri-line are, nevertheless, closely bound to it: this is exemplified in the siblings-of-opposite-sex relationship. They serve as links between male members of their line and their daughter's sons.

EGO's matri-line is his mother's patri-line defined in this same way: a

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analysis of this section of Warner's system omits consideration of EGO's sister's position, and does not take into account the compensatory factors involved in EGO's own marriage. To understand equilibrium (or for that matter disequilibrium) in a kinship system of this kind, to understand the ramification of compensatory factors, we must consider EGO as an adult, for it is his child-producing potentiality which is important.

B. *Asymmetrical Nature of System.* When an EGO marries, certain individuals become involved. For discussion we may diagram as in Table 2, on the basis of Leach.

That is, EGO receives a wife from C group. His group B (i.e., all members of it), with his MARI group (principally his own MARI), i.e., CC, aid him in accumulating gifts which will be given to C group. These gifts go principally

TABLE 2

into the hands of EGO's wife's father. A division is then made by this GALWAL, who gives presents to the group of his daughter's MARI (the NGADIWALGUR, CCC), who is incidentally his own W.M.B. and of the line of his own MARI; the remaining goods are distributed throughout the GALWAL's *babaru*.

When EGO's sister marries, certain individuals become involved: the same principle is involved here as above.

On a wider range, the compensatory factors involved can be diagrammed (see Table 3). As one may see by a glance at this diagram, the distribution of goods and services (in the form of reciprocal duties) between persons within the two moieties which contain the local groups is unequal. (I am not considering here the question of intangibles.) The only way in which they might be regarded as equal would be to classify all the groups of one moiety as against all the groups of the opposite moiety. Now this may be done in practice, so that any inequalities are wiped out.

What is, however, revealed by Table 3 is the chain of duties which links a man with his MARI, his obligations to his wife's F., and the latter's to his daughter's MARI. That is to say, the main principle, which is simple enough, and which governs the system, is that the MARI, as the most important of all EGO's relatives, because of the emotional bond existing between the two, because of his general identification with EGO's own patri-line, aids his grandson (his Sr.D.S.) upon his betrothal; but he does not aid his sr.d.d., for through her (EGO's sister) he receives his compensation. A M.B. receives compensation

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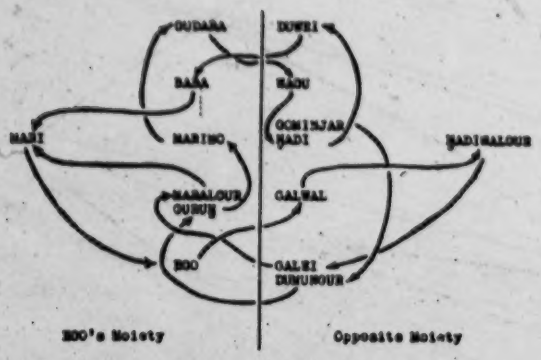
on the marriage of his daughter, but part of this must always go to the latter's MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior status.

Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI receives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside— that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are

TABLE 3



concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL, EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CC'

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descent group which can be brought into focus by consideration of its corporateness, its sense of common acting and belonging, its oneness as the *baburu*. I would prefer to call the members of this *baburu*, in totality, a *unilineal descent group* (e.g., Fortes, 1953:25) or *corporate descent group*. In its narrowest sense it is the direct line from F.F. to S.S., in its widest it incorporates male siblings of these persons, and female siblings of each generation grade who have not married outside. But the corporate descent group must exclude female siblings who are not coresident, for the term "corporate" suggests sufficiently close residence to enable more or less regular participation in organized group activities.

Now the patri-line suggests agnatic descent. Diagrammatically or otherwise we can speak of this collection of people as having each a definite position in such a *line*, but together they form the unilineal descent group and behave as a corporate unit. I do not consider that the use of the term "local line" in preference to "descent line" refines our definitions. But if we use descent line or patri-line to signify the type of descent, and to refer to an EGO's *immediate male* forebears and descendants, taking into account the depth of genealogical memory (in this case normally five generation levels, two above and two below), then it is a useful term. If we are to indicate the corporateness of the *baburu*, which will include male siblings and their S. and S.S., as well as unmarried female siblings of each of these, then we must use a descriptive term like "unilineal descent group" or "corporate descent group" or even Leach's "local descent group." The diagrammatization of this group may be designated the "local line," signifying its acknowledged totality.

D. *The Patri-Line (Descent Line): Corporate Descent Group.* Now the patri-line (descent line) is the minimal descent group. It is coresident with the maximal descent group, i.e., the totality of the acknowledged corporate descent group noted above.

All these male relatives (kin) with their wives occupy a specified tract of country over which they have hunting and fishing rights. In this area reside the spirits of their ancestors; in it are found their sacred sites and totemic centers, and to it belong their sacred designs and emblems. Excluding their wives they are the *corporate descent group;* including their wives, they are the *local horde*, the male-female co-operative hunting, fishing, and food-collecting unit.

E. *Parallel Descent Groups (Linguistic Group).* But within this specified territory are *parallel descent groups*. There may not be many of these, perhaps no more than two or three or at the most half a dozen. But together they form the *mala* or *linguistic group*.[4] Persons of the same generation level in these parallel descent groups are classificatory brothers, acknowledging a common ancestry, which may not always be genealogically traceable. They do not form a *clan* (*mala*), but together (as parallel descent groups) comprise one of several linguistic groups which make up the clan. Several *baburu* of varying size, then, in a parallel fashion, form the linguistic group.

F. *Minimal and Maximal Range of Baburu.* The *baburu* (the corporate descent group) tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line.

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legal institutions found in the society—and this is a function of political organization." The more we consider the question of lineage structure, the less we are willing to classify the corporate descent group of Wulamba type as a lineage. There are, however, striking similarities. For example, writes Fortes (1953:26), "where the lineage is found as a corporate group all the members of a lineage are to outsiders jurally equal and represent the lineage when they exercise legal and political rights and duties in relation to society at large." Thus among the Wulamba the corporate descent group, the *baburu*, will be viewed, in toto, by different outsiders as a *maribula*, a *gadjiwalgurabula*, *wagubula*, *yandibula*, *gudarabula*, and so on, depending on what type of relative is found there. "My mother comes from there," or "My sister's son comes from there" thus those people are "my *yandibula*" or "my *wagubula*." All the people within that group will be conveniently classified as "those of my *yandibula*" and so on: all are equally classed with "my mother" or "sister's son," as the case may be, although terminological differences between certain individuals within the group are recognized. But all are held responsible for the actions of any individual within. There is thus a collective responsibility in blood vengeance and in feud, or in running the gauntlet in a *magarada* "peace ceremony." This is thus a function of the Wulamba descent group, as well as, apparently, of the lineage (p. 26).

However, an aspect which demarcates the Wulamba descent group from the lineage is the latter's presumed perpetuity in time. Fortes (p. 27) discusses its continuity, which means its perpetual structural existence—the perpetuation of defined rights, duties, offices, social tasks, and so on, vested in the lineage as a corporate unit. Among the Wulamba, as we have seen, genealogical memory is short. The greatest span of any descent line is five to six generations. But segmentation occurs at any point, so that a number of parallel descent groups are ranged to form a linguistic group, and genealogical connections between them may not always be accurately stipulated. Nevertheless, within the range of the parallel descent groups we find the perpetuation of defined rights which will be primarily of a ritual order, and relating to rights over patterns and emblems, dances, songs, myth sections, and so on; also rights to hunt a particular natural species; rights to make certain kinds of bags; and, sometimes, but rarely, specified tasks like canoe-making, or prerogatives concerning stone-ax and stone-blade quarries, deposits of ochre, and so on. This again raises some interesting questions, highly relevant to our concept of lineage and descent group alike.

It is true, too, as Fortes has mentioned (p. 29) that the descent group must be studied as a part of the total social system. He considers that the main methodological contribution to such studies has been the approach from the angle of political organization (p. 30). Whether this can be done for the Wulamba descent groups remains to be seen. Or again, that descent is fundamentally a jural concept (Radcliffe-Brown 1952): we see, says Fortes (1953:30), "its significance, as the connecting link between the external, that is political and legal, aspect of what we have called unilineal descent groups,

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[6] I would not say, however, that Thomson's material (1949) on ceremonial economic exchange fills many gaps, if any, in Warner's data (see Leach 1951:34). It is obvious, I think, both from his material and from ours, that exchanges of this nature between M.B. and Sr.S. comprise merely one element in a wide system of economic exchanges. Goods travel backwards and forwards through the network of cognatic relationships, against a background of linked and allied linguistic groups, in a traditionally prescribed fashion, between certain specified kin, passing outside the periphery of the Wulamba bloc into and from alien Aboriginal or European (or Indonesian, as before) channels. Such exchanges consist of specified objects or commodities, which move in different directions across the surface of the whole country; but this is only one aspect relevant to the total kinship system.

Also, I would agree with Leach (p. 52) that in a marriage exchange the equivalent of a woman is not only another woman, and that the equivalent of a woman may be found not only in goods and labor and symbolic objects. Certain intangibles can play a part—and these may involve prestige, rights, services, and perhaps status. Little work, as yet, has been done in consideration of these. Reciprocal exchanges between males and females, or between females, should also be discussed in much greater detail, for these are not just reflections of exchanges between male partners. It is not satisfactory to consider an EGO as being always a male, as has been done in most discussions of kinship systems. Where prestations occur between male and female kin, these seem to conform with traditional patterns; but between female kin (i.e., among the Wulamba), this is not so apparent.

[7] Radcliffe-Brown (1931:4–5) calls the local group a horde: he states that each horde is independent and autonomous, managing its own affairs and acting as a unit in its relations with other hordes (however, see pp. 28, 106). Elkin (1938:39–41, 73–74) discusses the local group: it is, he tells us, an enlarged family, consisting of a man and his living descendants in the male line; such a group can be a local patrilineal clan. Elkin then draws a distinction between the local group and the horde, which is as we have defined it above. In fact his statements would, I think, agree with our own here.

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5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
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Relationship

All the various individuals of the tribe are related the one to the other, but that relationship is classificatory rather than personal, so that the relationship terms used by us cannot be a correct translation of the terms used by this aboriginal community. In the tribe are a certain number of men whom a given individual will call "father," the individual's actual father being one of that number. Certain other men are the individual's "gowal," or fathers-in-law, his actual father-in-law being included among them. 601 602

So all of a number of women of the tribe, including his actual mother, are his "ngandi," or mothers. A number of other women are an individual's "yappa," or sisters, and among these will be included his actual sisters. So right through the personnel of the tribe. Every individual member of the tribe is included in one of these many relationship groups or classes, and every relationship carries with it certain obligations. That is, an individual is required to fulfil the same obligations toward all those who stand in the relation of "ngandi" (mother) to him, as those which are due to his actual mother, and so on.

Thus is determined the attitude of every individual toward every other individual. This system of relationship lies at the basis of all social behaviour, and is of the utmost importance in the life of this aboriginal community. In connection with this system amazing qualities of memory are revealed, practically every individual knowing in what relation he or she stands to every one of the several hundred members of the tribe. This is the more remarkable in view of the dislocation in the regular order of descent occasioned by irregular marriages, of which there are a considerable number. 602 [182] [153] [588]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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796 culmination of all the religious and totemic ceremony of the past
837 weeks, and helps to serve as an emotional outlet. It establishes goodwill between participants, and cements the bonds of friendship, bringing groups closer together. Ill-will and jealousy cannot, theoretically, flourish at such a ceremonial time. Moreover, it draws the women closer into the sacred scheme of the Kunapipi, by entering into the fundamental physical relationship between men and women: for the sexual act is basic to these rituals, its significance deeply rooted in the concept of procreation, brought about through the contact of male and female. Thus ceremonial copulation, ritualized in the Kunapipi, substantiates the religious doctrine, and stresses its underlying meaning of fertility.

Generally speaking, in the Kunapipi ceremonial areas, ritual copulation is termed *ka'rangara*; and in the Birrundudu Kadjari (equivalent of the Kunapipi) it is associated with certain special forms of dancing by men and women on the sacred ground. At Yirrkalla it is called *djambinba*, meaning "the working", for natives use the word *djama* ("work") when referring to the act of coitus. But the exchanging of wives is called *g'ruliriliri* or *lirilirija*.

[609] Visitors who have come for the Kunapipi ceremonies have their correct tribal relationships established to everyone else in the camp. Most of those who are invited are known; but others come from far away (from Rose River, for instance, or from the south of Milingimbi), and it is necessary to determine their approximate relationship to others for the purpose of exchanging wives. This is done with much talk and discussion, comparing subsections, Dreaming affiliations, and so on. When a local man finds that a certain visitor is his classificatory brother, he will send his own younger brother to inform him that he may have the local man's wife for Kunapipi copulation; presents too are sent to the visitor, expressing goodwill. In return, the visitor sends a message that he will accept this arrangement, and that his own wife will come to the Kunapipi for ceremonial copulation with his local "brother"; he also sends presents. This is the normal procedure. But at times two men, without the aid of a third party, will decide between themselves to exchange wives; and occasionally, these days, a man may arrange matters with a visitor's wife (with whom he desires intercourse, or with whom he is
796 having a liaison) without the consent of her own husband.
835
[601] This means that usually in the Kunapipi a man will copulate with his "long way" brother's wife, whom he calls *kalei* (wife), normally a classificatory mother's brother's daughter or mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, the daughter of her partner's *mukul* (mother's mother's brother's daughter). This, aborigines say, is the pattern for "the new generation", which differs from the traditional arrangement of the old people. In the old days (that is, prior to white
● [602] contact in this and adjacent areas) it was customary for ceremonial

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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copulation to take place between two "cousins" (*mukul* and *gurung*), who were normally tabu-ed relatives, formally unable to talk to one another, and classified as mother-in-law and son-in-law.[10] That is, the sacredness of the occasion demanded that sexual intercourse take place between individuals who were at other times tabu. Such coitus would, on the sacred ground, be considered far more potent, from the point of view of fertility, than that between persons who were classified as "husband" and "wife", were of different moieties, and were comparatively easy of access even if not living together.

Coitus between *mukul* "cousins" at ceremonial periods was termed *ngirimbu'njamari'gwu:wa*, loosely translated as "living with one's cousin for *now* or to-day (that is, for a little while)". Their coitus was said to result in "starting a baby in the female *mukul*"; and this was later looked upon as belonging, spiritually at least, to the male *mukul*. Both *mukul* would be of the same moiety; and the child produced from such a union, which normally would be considered incestuous, would by taking the moiety of its father (for descent of the moiety is patrilineal) also be taking that of its mother. Recognition of the fact that a child would be born of this ceremonial intercourse between two *mukul*, and the parentage acknowledged, demonstrates one aspect of these people's knowledge of physiological paternity.[11] The reason for the carrying out of incestuous intercourse on the sacred ground, for ceremonial purposes, is reflected in the Wauwalak mythology; for it will be recalled that the elder Wauwalak sister had incestuous relations with a clansman (of the same moiety) before coming to Muruwul, and as a result of this intercourse, a child was born. But although the elder Wauwalak had sexual relations with a man who was of the same moiety as herself, the child apparently took not *dua*, its actual father's moiety, but *jiritja*, as if it had had a *jiritja* father (*vide* Wauwalak myth, Chapter III). "We do it", aborigines say, "because of that Wauwalak: that is why two *mukul* copulate, and their child is acknowledged".

Usually, however, it seems that intercourse takes place between a man and his classificatory brother's wife; but exceptions do occur which may normally be considered incestuous or "wrong-way". Even before the actual ceremonial intercourse takes place, as a climax to the Kunapipi, copulation between Kunapipi partners

10. This ceremonial copulation with a *mukul* still occurs in the Rose River region. *Vide* Chapter V, which describes a drawing of this ritual.
11. This, aborigines say, "happened in the old times, when the old people had this Kunapipi (suggesting that the Kunapipi was introduced at an early period); we changed from that. Now we only get the daughter of that *mukul*, but in the old time we should have got the *mukul*". But other information casts some doubt as to whether this practice of having ceremonial intercourse with a *mukul* took place only in the past. For example, it is said: "our old people married their *mukul* in the old days, and *now we do it* (that is, copulate) in the Kunapipi, in memory of those old times".

ently, a vague condition of communal ownership of land and wealth, with little idea of "value", of the personal ownership of property, or of the organisation of work. This view finds expression in the average cattleman's idea that the blackfellow is a fool who has no sense of value and who gives away everything, even his clothes, indiscriminately, without any appreciation of their worth. This is very far from true, and is due to failure to understand the kinship obligations of the aborigines. It is true that a native who goes to work for the white man on a cattle station in Northern Australia, and who receives an issue of a pair of trousers, a shirt and a pair of boots, may appear, a day or two later in rags, having in the meantime passed his new clothes to a relation. To the white employer this is incomprehensible, but studied in relation to social organisation and behaviour it appears in a very different light.

The most important factor in the regulation of conduct 601
in Australian society is the kinship organisation. This not 602
only lays down the terms which a man applies to all those persons he normally meets, but it also defines his behaviour to them, as well as their reciprocal obligations.[4] For each 602
kinship term, which is used in place of a personal name, is

[4] For those who have no special anthropological training the importance of the part played by the kinship organisation in Australian society must be stressed.

Under the "classificatory" system of relationship the use of the terms applied to *own* relatives is extended to many people whom we would not consider relatives at all, and it defines a man's behaviour to these people according to the terms he applies to them, and in turn fixes their behaviour and obligations to him.

Kinship not only regulates marriage and behaviour, but it provides for the adoption of orphans by people who, under the kinship system, are their sociological (as distinct from physiological) fathers and mothers, to whom they already apply the terms for father or mother and to whom their behaviour has always been a

more than a mere term of address, and carries with it a definite pattern of behaviour. It is well known that the giving or exchange of presents establishes or affirms a bond between individuals. When an aborigine meets a relation of a certain order, for example a person to whom, under the classificatory system, he extends the term brother, he may have an obligation to make a present to him. If it happens that his only available wealth is a shirt or a pair of trousers he will hand these over to discharge his obligation, receiving a gift in return, which may chance to be a ragged shirt or a tattered, worn-out pair of trousers. The important point is that a gift has been exchanged and reciprocal obligations discharged. If one man should happen to be the loser, in the economic sense, this is of little moment. The transaction is in no sense barter or exchange; it is a gift pure and simple, without any assessment of value, and with no deliberate *economic* import, in response to a *social* obligation laid down by the kinship structure into which every man is born. One of the men has given a present to the other. Failure to reciprocate would lay the recipient open to a charge of meanness, and what is even worse, he would lose face, and would in any case remain under an obligation to repay the gift at some future date.

The purpose of the present communication is to give an account of the basic economic structure and organisation

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[601] modification of the pattern applied to their own actual fathers and
[602] mothers.

The kinship organisation provides also for the old and the sick, who are fed and cared for, not as a charge on the society, but by their own kin, who accept the responsibility without question as part of the pattern of life in which they have grown up. Cruelty or neglect of old people and children is unknown among the people of Arnhem Land.

[423] of his mother, which is known by a distinctive term, *yindi-*
[614] *pulo*, (*yindi*, big). The mother's clan stands in a special
602 relationship, and a man regards its members as his own people. In times of trouble or feud, or during the quarrels about women which rage intermittently, he can be assured of sanctuary there. (*Yindipulo* applies to the mother's clan itself, and to members of the clan collectively.) They take his part in fights and he exercises hunting rights over their
[604] territory as if he belonged to the clan. A special relationship exists between a man and his mother's brother, called *kauwäl* (reciprocal term *wäkku*), who is a member of the mother's clan. This man is regarded as "like a mother" and he remains a special friend and ally throughout life.

594 In Arnhem Land the most important unit of social life
614 is the family, the group which consists of a man, his wife or wives and their children. The family unit however lies outside the clan organisation, for the clan is a group whose members are either bound by ties of kinship and the bond of descent from a common totemic ancestor or by a belief that they share this bond, and they are
614 also linked by the possession of totems in common. And
621 since the people are patrilineal and the clan group is *exogamous*[11]—that is, a man may not marry a woman of the same clan—the group which actually *occupies* the clan territory is made up of the male members of the clan and their children, *plus* their wives (who remain members of other clans—the clans into which they were born), and *minus* those female members of the clan who have married into other clans. To this occupational group the name "horde" is applied. The clan is an hereditary
[597] group, entry into which is by birth alone, but a person may enter a horde by marriage or by adoption. The *clan* is a permanent and stable unit of social organisation; the

[11] See footnote 7 (page 10), on the dual division and exogamy.

horde rests on no such solid foundation and is unstable. 614 621

Membership of each group within this complex segmentary organisation carries its own (often conflicting) solidarity and obligations, which however, form an integral scheme. Obligation and counter-obligation, defined by membership of the clan, and especially by kinship, supplies the incentive to work, to produce wealth and *gerri*, (page 5). Kinship also provides the chief basis for the division of the proceeds of communal enterprise. 602

Before discussing the economic structure in detail, it is necessary to look at the environment, the background, in which the aborigine lives. We must examine the natural resources which are available to him both for the gathering of food and for the manufacture of weapons, implements and utensils, as well as for the building of houses and watercraft. It is necessary to study the methods he has developed for the exploitation of these resources, for the collecting of raw material, for the manufacture of food and the utensils necessary in his domestic economy and activities. It is necessary, also, to examine any mechanisms which he may have developed for the distribution of these goods between individuals within a group, or between groups, and again, in a wider field, to trace the beginning of any system of barter or trade in manufactured objects or commodities, with groups in distant areas. 121

Does such exchange or trade exist? Is it a regular, (organised) matter or merely casual and sporadic? How is it carried out, and what is the motive force, the incentive, which is required to overcome the difficulties inherent in the "segmentary organisation" which would tend to prevent any extensive form of intercourse between widely separated groups? We have seen already that the segmentary organisation, which divides the people into small groups, each with an intense internal solidarity, also furnishes a basis for 571 619

or south-east season, and "shades" of boughs in the very hot dry weather, to the crescentic and semi-circular houses thatched with teatree bark, and the more elaborate rectangular huts of stringybark which are used in the wet season, and are of a more or less permanent nature. The large rectangular houses were, however, probably developed or modified as a result of Malay or Macassar influence. 221 342 361 [177]

When the flood waters subside after the storms and rains of the north-west season, the large wet season camps break up into small groups consisting of a few families, which disperse to lead a nomadic life within the confines of their own clan territories. Each phase, each season, has its own related food supply, and this is the chief factor which determines the daily activities of the people and also the area in which they are to be found at any time of the year. As the season advances and the grass dries, they practise systematic burning of the country in conjunction with their hunting activities. This is not a random business; it is well organised, and is carried out by the men as a communal enterprise, although in a restricted and controlled manner, with "drives" for kangaroos, wallabies or other game. 221 361 221 224

The actual burning of the grass is directed by the old men of the clan, or by others who have an hereditary right, especially by men of other clans who stand, under the kinship system, in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman speaking; sister's son, man speaking) that is, men to whom the clan is *yindipulo* (see pp. 11, 12). Such men are necessarily members of the opposite moiety, and to those unfamiliar with the people, they may appear to usurp the authority, to dominate the affairs, of clans to which they do not belong. But it is part of the traditional behaviour in this area, that certain people of *dua* moiety carry out some of the ritual tasks for members of certain clans of *yiritja* moiety to which 224 887 614 602 [616] 602 614 616

602 they stand in a particular relationship, and for *yiritja* to
614 reciprocate for *dua*. The foregoing account applies also to
616 the organisation of most communal enterprises such as
[226] large-scale fishing drives, where the technique is related to local conditions, and therefore has a localised background. In such cases the practice is regarded as traditional, as a part of the pattern or heritage which has been passed to the clan by its founders, the totemic ancestor or ancestors, and which is therefore the special right or privilege of its mem-
[628] bers. Such traditional rights are invariably recognised and respected by other clans and are rigidly enforced, so that any violation may lead to punitive measures and even result in an inter-clan feud. And since the procedure is well understood by all participants, differences or disputes rarely, if ever, arise, and control or authority is not apparent. Most of these enterprises run so smoothly that only those who know the people and understand the social organisation would be aware of the identity of the man in authority.

224 At the conclusion of a hunting "drive" or grass burning
226 operation, or after the completion of a communal fishing
602 expedition, the game or fish is divided equally among those who took part. The group will then often sit down and cook or partially cook the food before taking it back to camp, when it is again sub-divided by each of the people according to his or her own family or kinship obligations.

224 While the burning of the grass yields an appreciable
[136] amount of animal food, of which the most important are kangaroos and wallabies among larger quarry, and such small game as bandicoots, opossums, "goanna" or Monitor lizards (*Varanus*), and snakes—it also has the effect of destroying the tops of food plants, which can then no longer be detected by the women. Burning must, therefore, be

137 zones, *rakai*, the corms of the Tall Spike Rush (*Heleocharis*
262 *sphacelata*), to which reference has already been made, form the staple food. At the same time, communal fishing
226 drives—almost the only large scale hunting activity in which
476 men and women work together—are organised. Most other communal enterprises, except those of a ceremonial nature, are carried out by groups of men or of women working
[687] independently. In most cases the actual procedure follows
[554] so closely a traditional pattern that little actual leadership
[602] is required and this is generally accepted as the responsibility of the most senior and experienced of the older men who stand in the correct kinship status to the group in whose territory the hunting "drive" is carried out. Because these methods are traditional and are therefore regarded as a recapitulation of a pattern laid down by the ancestral culture heroes, the leadership is nominal and generally unobtrusive.

592 Each family—the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives and their young children—lives as a separate unit within the camp. It generally makes its own hut, shelter or breakwind according to the season, but the essential thing is that its life is centred around its own fireside, and that each family group cooks its own food, and lives as an independent and self-contained group within the horde. As a rule only one regular meal is eaten in camp. This is at night after the people have returned from the day's hunting.

591 There is no single women's camp, and up to the time of
593 marriage a girl remains with her parents and shares with
883 her mother the work of gathering vegetable food, and of food preparation, the making of bark houses and the getting of wood and water. But in the case of a boy, after commencement of his first initiation rites, at about the age of puberty, he leaves the fireside of his parents and goes to live in the single men's camp.

live in the single men's camp. The brother-sister tabu, which is very strict, now comes into operation, and his sisters as well as his mother are prohibited from eating any of the game that he kills and which is now known by a special term, *kälŋboi*. But he still receives vegetable food from his mother and from certain other female relatives which he reciprocates with gifts of fish, honey or "sugar bag" and any other food the eating of which is not restricted by *kälŋboi* tabus. Later as he acquires status and the tabus upon the game he kills are removed or relaxed, he will make regular reciprocal gifts of animal food to his *ŋandi* and to the other female relatives upon whom, prior to his marriage, he was dependent for vegetable food. 262 431 593 602 883

The division of labour is well-marked. The chief task of the woman, besides the bearing of children, is the collection and preparation of vegetable food and of shellfish, as well as such small game as rats, bandicoots, opossums and *kuku*, "sugar bag", the honey of the small black native bee (*Trigona* spp.), as she may glean by the way. Each woman works for her own family group—her husband and children—but some of the food that she obtains may also be sent to relatives to whom she has obligations defined by kinship. Others again may be prohibited from partaking of this food because of their kinship or other status at certain stages of their own or the woman's relationship to the society. Most of the food obtained by a woman during menstruation is tabu to certain relatives—particularly to her brothers. Contrary to the general idea the main food supply among aborigines, except at certain restricted seasons of the year, is not animal, but vegetable, and in Arnhem Land upwards of sixty food plants are known. Some of these are local and are obtained more or less casually and in small quantity. But a comparatively small number, which 222 462 [594 602] 222 262 [602] [841]

down the back when empty, but when full the weight is usually borne on the forehead, or if the load is a heavy one, the baskets are carried on top of the head.

At first glance, Arnhem Land, like many other parts of Northern Australia, may appear to be barren and inhospitable and to offer little promise for the gathering of vegetable foods. But it must be remembered that over the centuries the aborigines have accumulated great experience of the food plants of their environment, which is handed on from generation to generation, and that they have developed highly specialised methods for exploiting every resource of the territory in which they live. The food resources of Arnhem Land are rich and varied and the natives have developed effective processes for the preparation of its vegetable foods, as well as many clever and ingenious devices for the capture of fish and game.

Again the cooking and preparation of food is far from the crude or haphazard business of popular imagination. *ŋätu* is not the only poisonous plant which is used as food. A number of other food plants also contain soluble poisons which are eliminated by simple and effective, but often prolonged, cooking and washing.

The women are dexterous and neat in all their technological processes, and to watch them at work in the preparation of vegetable food is an object lesson in the skilful and efficient use of the simplest equipment.

The task of the men is to provide animal food, both fish and game. As a rule, when a large quarry such as a kangaroo is killed, it is cooked and quartered on the spot, and is then divided equally among those taking part in the hunt. It is taken back to camp in a cooked or half-cooked state, often wrapped neatly in paperbark. Each man again divides his share of the game according to his obligations defined by

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778] her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is *yarkomirri* (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
[887 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

461 based on the activities of adults, there is no idleness. Even the young men are engaged fully in hunting and fishing activities and work hard, in marked contrast with the conditions in similar groups close to white settlement, where the organisation is breaking down. Neither men nor women are idle for long, and even in camp as they sit around their fires they may be seen to pick up a basket, a fish net, a spear or other weapon, and work at this as they talk, just as they did when they halted at midday to rest and to cook food. Yet there is no feeling of haste, but rather of method, of system and order.

182 461 What are the drives, the incentives, which lie behind all this organisation? Why does it move so smoothly, and what induces these people to work hard, so willingly, without any *apparent* direction, control or authority?

182 461 773 First and foremost, the organisation is based on the traditions laid down by the totemic ancestors and handed down in mythology, in the culture myths which the natives believe to be a history of their own clan ancestors. This provides a charter for all their activities, it gives them a plan, a motive, for their lives, which they believe are a recapitulation of the lives of the clan ancestors, who "showed the [861] way". Each individual is born into this pattern and learns as a child the part he has to play as a unit in the family and 182 clan. But it is not all impersonal, for as a clan member he 461 fits into the kinship network, in which, although his ● 602 relationship to all the people in his own and neighbouring 554 clans is laid down when he is born, and his behaviour and obligations to these people clearly defined, these acquire a reality, a vital significance, because they are personal and deal with real people. No member of a well-organised society would willingly lag behind in his obligations. On the faithful discharge of these, on his ability to hunt, to bring his con-

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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tribution of food to the group, to make payments, to give and return presents of food and objects of value, depends his reputation as a man, his prestige, his feeling of success as a human being.

Again, a successful hunter, especially one who has achieved renown in the pursuit of animals that are difficult to kill and which thus acquire a high social value, earns the title of *tjämbait*, while a woman renowned as a food gatherer is *bärtatumoro*. These titles are greatly coveted, and the right to them confers a considerable amount of prestige. If a man is called *tjämbait* to his face he will flush with embarrassment and pleasure, passing it off with a disclaimer, "*ŋärra bordin*", literally, "I am quiet" (non-aggressive), but no man would wish to be stigmatised as *tjämbaitmiru*[17]—without prowess in hunting. It would be an intolerable humiliation, a blow to his pride and prestige, to his sentiments as a successful human being.

I remember often when coming in from the hills after hunting wallaroo and Red Kangaroo, being greeted by a man who would say to me in the curious, stilted, artificial sing-song voice they reserve for these things, "Eh! *Wa'wa tjämbait*!" "Ah! my elder brother *tjämbait*!" "Well done, my brother." That, among a renowned hunting people, who live by the spear, is a proud title.

The kinship pattern is a system of obligations and counter obligations, and even if he is content merely to discharge these to the extent necessary to maintain his prestige, a man must necessarily work hard. To receive gifts of food and other presents which demand return gifts, and not to reciprocate, places a man under an obligation, which to a normal individual is an unbearable blow to his pride.

And these obligations are not confined to members of

[17] *-miru*, suffix meaning without, lacking.

182 a man's or woman's own horde with whom he or she comes
431 into daily contact. They extend also to members of
461 other hordes and are emphasised strongly on occasions
602 when people from distant groups to whom the kinship
[574] organisation is extended, come as visitors. For a young man, such obligations are intense, and to discharge them he is obliged to keep up an almost continuous stream of presents, which entails constant work.

182 With each successive stage of initiation it is obligatory
431 for him to make gifts to the old men of the clan group into
461 which he is being initiated. This may become very irksome
626 and may even reach a stage when no matter how hard he
561 works he is unable completely to discharge all his obligations, so laying himself open to the fear of reprisals, such as
[754] visitation by *kälka* (sorcerers who kill by the use of magic) or by other agencies. Fear of the use of secret methods of reprisal is a very real one, and provides, for a man, one of the strongest inducements to work, to keep pace with his obligations, and so to give no cause for resentment.

431 In those ceremonies such as the *kunabibbi* and *ŋulmark*
561 which transcend clan and tribal boundaries, and are not
796 restricted to, or regarded as the proprietary right of, a
614 small group such as a clan, but are practised widely throughout the territory, these obligations are less onerous. In
778 others, of the type called *märdai'in*, the initiation ceremonies carried out by each clan or group of clans sharing the same totems, at which its sacred totems are revealed, the burden of the gifts or payments is a heavy one. The internal solidarity of these small groups is intense, and their *märdai'in* or *räŋga*—the secret name for the objects which represent the *mälli*, the "shade" or "spirit" of the totemic ancestors themselves—are jealously guarded. These *räŋga* are very sacred and are regarded as dangerous to the

421 for giving, for possession, the fine shades of distinction which are drawn between each type of gift or exchange, as well as the strict recognition of the rights of a man to use and dispose of his own property, all lay stress on this. No man would think of using the weapons or personal possessions of another without specific permission. To do so would lead inevitably to a fight. But there are a few well-defined exceptions to this rule which occur in some special relationships within the kinship system, where behaviour is marked by much freedom, and in which relatives of certain orders (*vide infra*) borrow one another's *gerri* without permission and without any fear of resentment or reprisal. These examples are exceptional and are associated with a pattern of behaviour which is characterised by extreme licence, contrasting strongly with the rigid tabu which marks certain other relationships, particularly that between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and only to a slightly lesser extent, between brother and sister.

578 Theft is regarded very seriously among these people, and 685 I have heard altercations raging when boys or young men from the single men's camp had stolen vegetable food belonging to women, while it was still in course of preparation. Violent abuse, leading to a general fight in camp, often results even from such minor theft, and large expiatory payments of food would be made by the close relatives of the offenders to avert more serious consequences.

421 These facts stress the recognition of the individual owner-602 ship of property. This is emphasised also by the special feature which is made of the right of *kutara* (sister's daughter's son) to take or borrow possessions of a *mari* (mother's mother's brother) with whom a special "joking relation-

ship" called *wäkkälmändji*[37] exists. Here again this right [421] to use the property of a *mari* (always a distant or "outside" 602 *mari* under the kinship system) is part of the pattern of extreme licence in behaviour which is permitted or even obligatory between certain men who stand in the relationship of *mari* ⇌ *kutara* to one another. The behaviour in this case emphasises the fact that this is a very special and unusual relationship and one which contrasts with the normal pattern of behaviour, of which it is a complete reversal. Towards my own *mari*, my own mother's mother's brother, the man whose daughter's daughter I may marry—whose actual daughter, my *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law), is tabu, and to whom I must behave with greater reserve than to any other person in my kinship pattern—to this man I act with great circumspection and austerity. This is in marked contrast with the behaviour towards the *mari* whom I call *wäkkälmändji*, and whose *gerri* I may borrow.

This behaviour again serves to stress the fact that al- 421 though material possessions among these people are simple 602 and relatively few, the question of individual ownership of property and the right to dispose of this, is never in question, but is actually stressed in the kinship system, which defines and regulates conduct.

[37] The "joking relationship", which serves to stress and to give [442] point and contrast to, the behaviour between relatives in which the [1717] pattern is very restrained and austere, often takes the form of organised licence with exchange of obscene jokes and taunts which under other circumstances would lead inevitably to a fight, is a feature of the social organisation in many parts of Australia although there is little reference to it in the accounts of kinship which have been published.

See Donald F. Thomson, *The Joking Relationship and Organised Obscenity in North Queensland*, American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, No. 3, July-September, 1935. [113]

it must be remembered that the *lippa lippa* and the iron tools for cutting them were part of the pattern of Indonesian culture adopted by these people from the Macassar voyagers.

In the case of the bark canoe, while a good deal of skill and experience was needed in making the craft, the actual time involved amounted to a few hours only. A man was generally assisted in stripping the sheet of stringybark,[80] and in the heating and folding of this, by his wife or other near kin, and no special organisation was necessary to feed him, or to relieve him of the need to hunt, over a period of weeks. But with the building of a big sea-going dugout canoe the matter is different and a considerable amount of organisation is necessary to build and launch the craft.

Today there are three principal means of obtaining *lippa lippa*. The first is as a gift of the kind called *tadoit* (pages 40-41), to send back the *marr* after a *ŋarra* or other ceremony, a means, however, which is uncertain because it cannot be solicited. Of the other and more direct methods of obtaining canoes, *ülkkül kon gurrupün*, (p. 52) is probably the most favoured, while straight-out purchase (*mälli*) (pp. 51-52), in which the *djalimulimo* or *djärtunmirri* is directly engaged to carry out the work, is used less frequently. My informants said that the *djalimulimo* feeds himself during the progress of the work. This means that he must either spend a considerable part of his time in hunting or fishing or that he must depend upon his wives or other female kin to feed him in the period during which he is actually cutting the canoe. More rarely, responsibility for feed-

[80] Although most of these bark canoes, even those which are about 14 or 15 feet in length, are constructed from a single sheet of bark, some, especially in the Gulf of Carpentaria, are made from two or more sheets sewn together.

from *kumur djalk*. But because of its known origin, a *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear head) is always known as *kumur djalk*, and for this reason it would not be appropriate for a man to the north to pass *ŋämbi lirra* as *wetj* to a partner in the south-east.

In order to understand the complicated system surrounding the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and game it would be necessary to have not only a thorough working knowledge of the kinship system and the obligations, unilateral and reciprocal, laid down by its terminology, but also to understand each of the special relationships which, in addition to those arising from kinship, may exist between members of the society.

To avoid further extending this account, I shall refer to one only of these special relationships. This is *tjukarŋo*, a term used reciprocally between individuals who stand in one of two relationships under the kinship system; *wawamändji*[41] (*wawa*, brother; *-mändji*, those two) or *marimändji*, i.e. *mari* = *kutara*, (mother's mother's brother = sister's daughter's son). Where these people stand in the relationship of brother they are usually half-brothers, the sons of women who are sisters, especially of sisters who have married men of clans on opposite sides of their own clan territories. Another factor is that often the relationship of *tjukarŋo* has existed between the mothers—who are not full or half-sisters—for it may exist between women as well as men. A man extends the same term also to brothers and sisters of his *tjukarŋo*.

Tjukarŋo is a very special relationship, the closest and most permanent that can exist between men.

[41] The suffix *-mändji* denotes mutual relationship together, i.e. *wawa-mändji*, brothers together; *wawa* is really elder brother but is used in this connection to express the relationship between brothers.

My informants said that they had never known *tjukarŋo* to fight. So intimate is the bond that exists between these people that their social personalities are often closely identified, and men, but not women, who stand in this relationship may exchange personal names. When this occurs they also exchange all their personal possessions—spears, dilly bags (baskets), tomahawks and other *gerri*. The exchange of names may take place at any time and not merely on some special ceremonial occasion. It may be permanent; and the new name then passes to the *kutara* (sister's daughters), while my own *kutara* now takes my name—the name which belonged formerly to my *tjukarŋo*. The chief feature of this very special relationship appears to be the obligation to send presents, and to act as host and protector to the *tjukarŋo* when he is on a visit, or when danger threatens. If a member of a *miriŋo* (war-making) party meets his *tjukarŋo* when on a raiding party he will enfold him in his arms to protect him from spears, and he will act also as protector to his wife and children.

An important feature of the *tjukarŋo* relationship is exchange of gifts and a sharing of possessions no matter how valuable. It is probable that this special relationship in which the reciprocal obligations to give are very strong, arose originally from some special feature of the kinship organisation.

But the relationship upon which the great ceremonial exchange cycle rests is, as stated on pages 67 and 68, called simply *kumur märnda*.[42] Men or women who apply the term *kumur märnda* to one another, normally stand in one of the following relationships:

[42] *Kumur*, lit. sternum, hence, breast, face or aspect; *märnda*, those two, hence literally, "face to face" or "breast to breast" those two.

ŋäti	⇌	*käminyarr* (mother's father—daughter's son and daughter).
kawal	⇌	*wäkku* (mother's brother—sister's son and daughter).
duwe	⇌	*källai* (mother's brother's or father's sister's son and daughter).
mari	⇌	*kutara* (mother's mother's brother—sister's daughter's son and daughter).
wawa	⇌	*yukko yukko* (elder brother—younger brother).
bapa n'ymokunin	⇌	*katu* (father's younger brother—son and daughter).
maralkor	⇌	*korroŋ* (mother's mother's brother's son—father's sister's daughter's son and daughter).

People who stand in the *kumur märnda* relationship are regarded as partners facing one another in the exchange system, and each has the obligation to give gifts of the appropriate order. Each strives to pass to the other, his partner in the *kumur mändji* relationship, gifts of the kind appropriate to the *kumur* in which he stands, and the partner in turn must reciprocate, though not necessarily immediately. This exchange is not in any sense barter although circulation of goods on a large scale results. Its primary object, to the native, is not merely to gain goods, for to these people the ceremonial aspect is the important one. As my informant said: "Meaning, to give all the time—*kumur märnda ŋällinya* (partners together, we two)—all the time, till die". i.e. the objective of each is to give in order to maintain and affirm the bond between each *kumur* pair, until they die, when their children carry it on. If two men die who are *kumuryanna märnda*, their wives may take over the relationship, and carry on the ritual exchange. The importance of the *ceremonial* aspect, and the fact that this relationship is

different from that of pure economic exchange, is indicated by the use of a special term, *wetj*, which means "to give", but in a ceremonial sense, a sense quite distinct from that for which the ordinary word for giving—*gurrupän*, (*gurrupulo*, imperative), is used. Again, my informant, Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi, in explaining the ceremonial exchange cycle, the *kumur märnda* relationship in which he was a very active participant, exclaimed, "If you have a good thing here, might be you give it to me. You think, 'I give it to him. I like to give it to him.' All right, *wetj gurrupulo närräna*[43] (you give to me)." To illustrate further the meaning of *wetj*, this man added, "If he asks, you give it to him because he asks. But if you give it yourself—that is *wetj*—that is *marr*, because you *like* to give it to him." "*Djal ni gurrupänaran*," he added in the Like (desire) you to give,
language, i.e. it is *marr*[44] because you give it freely, spontaneously, from a desire to give and not because he has asked for it. Freely rendered, "If you have something you value, perhaps you may give it spontaneously to me, your partner in the ceremonial exchange cycle. Or you may think about it and waver."

In this phrase my informant expresses the momentary hesitance, the reluctance of a man with something he prizes, and would like to possess himself, to pass it on to his partner in the *kumur märnda* relationship. He thinks about it and wavers—but finally he decides to give it. The

[43] A little of the native text has been retained, chiefly because it is difficult to find the exact equivalent in English.

[44] *Marr* has been defined (page 37) in part as "spiritual power" but it means much more than this. It is also the "power to respond" and is generally associated in some way with personal things. *Marr* is the "power", the "drive" which lies behind ritual and is the force which brings good and bad "luck", success in hunting.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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informant explains this feeling, and contrasts the spirit in which such a gift is given, in these circumstances, with one which is given merely in response to a request. He conceives his giving within the ceremonial cycle—which is of the type called *wetj*—as due to *marr*, to the force, the ritual urge, (stronger, even, than the desire to retain and possess *gerri*) to pass them on and either to increase thereby his own prestige in the *kumur märnda* relationship, or to acquit himself of an existing obligation in the quarter to which he sends it.

Again the same informant, Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi clan on the Lower Glyde River, a fine and intelligent native, with a great number of partners in this ceremonial exchange system, widely dispersed throughout Central Arnhem Land, said of his two younger half-brothers (from the same mother) who belonged to Ritar'ŋo clan and who were *kumur djalk* to him: "Wuruwul and ŋälländir (his half-brothers) bring *ŋämbi djalk* . . . *must* I give *wetj*." i.e. "They bring stone spear heads" (from ŋillipidji the appropriate *kumur* in the exchange cycle) "and I *must* reciprocate."

To fail to repay these gifts quickly, even with his own half-brothers, would be to lose face, to suffer in prestige—perhaps even to be passed over next time a gift in the ceremonial exchange system was available. Some idea of the importance of the smooth operation of the ceremonial exchange cycle, and of the extent to which it induces a state of *euphoria* or ritual well-being, may be gathered from the answer which I received from this same informant (Raiwälla) to a question which I had put to him.

When Raiwälla listed *bäti mindjalpi* (a special type of woven basket carried by men to contain their personal possessions) among the *gerri* which he received from *kumur*

miwait, I asked him if he did not make these *mindjalpi* himself. He replied "I make them, but different country—he must give me *wetj*—like this" (holding his hand out). "If you give me, I can't say 'I don't want it' because this arm belong him goes this way—it points along me. *Murr* (goodwill, spiritual power) goes this way, I must take it. *Wetj* is like *murr*."

But if it is the sociological bond, the *kumuryunna märnäu* relationship, which is so much stressed by the natives, this ceremonial exchange has also an economic side which is no less important than the ritual, and which accompanies it, taking advantage of the motive force and the mechanism and driving force of the more obvious ceremonial exchange. Under cover of the great ceremonial exchange system, of which an outline only has been given, large quantities of *gerri* pass from one territory to another, and although in some cases, as with the *bäti* (basket) called *mindjalpi*, the actual article itself varies little if at all from a similar object of local manufacture, it has special value, *virtu*, by reason of the fact that it has been made in another country. This is particularly true of spears, which circulate freely throughout the area, and are valued often because they are believed to possess special merit derived from their place of origin—because they acquire a halo of glamour and romance by reason of the way in which they are acquired; because they have *murr*. And although the natives still retain "ordinary", (non-sacred) objects, this gives those acquired by ceremonial exchange a history, a background, a personality which lifts them above other *wäkkinnu* objects and gives them a greatly enhanced value in the eyes of people who receive them.

Here then, is the nucleus of a great system of exchange, which, though it differs in many respects from our own established ideas of trade or barter, supplies an incentive,

to the impact of Indonesian culture. The giving and exchange of gifts, of *gerri*, is an important accompaniment of much of the ritual that takes place in Arnhem Land and is an integral part of the behaviour which is obligatory between relatives of certain orders within the kinship system. A number of special relationships, of which one, *tjukarno*, is mentioned on page 75, are also characterised by the exchange of possessions.

And again, the fact must be stressed that the ceremonial exchange cycle is not merely a matter of exchange or barter, although the economic exchange is a vital accompaniment, but that a man having once established a place in the *kumur märnda* relationship, must reciprocate with the appropriate *gerri*. As one of my informants said (page 79), "*Must* I give *wetj*"—"I *must* reciprocate." And again, when he is offered a gift, a man cannot refuse it—he *must* accept it—and after holding it for the period permitted by custom, pass it on to one of his partners. When people of an inland clan, who are partners in the *kumur djalk* and *kumur kärin* directions, brought big ceremonial presentations of flint spear heads, boomerangs, forehead fillets (*küllämba*) and large ceremonial hair belts and other *gerri*, to their exchange partners in *kumur muadük* the people would have no choice. They would be obliged to accept the *gerri* brought by the visitors and to reciprocate. The *gerri* appropriate to each quarter are defined by tradition, and again, it was stated that tradition lays down the rule that *gerri* from one *kumur* may not return to the quarter in which they originated. The practical effect of this custom would be to make it difficult for the people of the coast to have a monopoly of iron implements, such as axes, knives, iron spear heads, wire for fish spears, even if they wished to do so. It would be impossible for them to possess these without the knowledge

Kinship is very important in Australia and is the chief factor underlying social organisation and behaviour both between individuals and between groups. Every individual is born into a kinship pattern which under the classificatory system defines his relationship not only with his own kin but also with all those whom he meets during the ordinary course of his life. Kinship terms, or terms of relationship, are used in place of personal names. They are not mere terms of address, for each carries a set pattern of behaviour. 602

Mălla, in literal translation, any *group*, but used also in a special sense for an aggregation of clans linked together by the possession of common totems or by the sharing of at least a part of a common totemic inheritance. 614 615

Moiety (see dual division).

Patrilineal. Descent in clan and in certain other social groups is traced either in the male or in the female line, i.e. through the father or through the mother. When reckoned through the father it is *patrilineal* and when traced through the mother it is said to be *matrilineal*. 000

Totems and totemism. A totem has been defined as an animal, plant or inanimate object, with which a person, or a group of people, believe that they have a special relationship. This is true, but it does not go far enough. Many different kinds of totemism are known in Australia, including clan, moiety, conceptional, personal, cult and ceremonial totemism. In all, a very special relationship exists between the individual or the group and its totem or totems. Often, in clan totemism, the people believe that they are descended from one of the totemic ancestors of their clan and that these ancestors, called *wŏŋarr in* Eastern Arnhem Land, founded the clan and its culture and way of life and established the traditions which the people follow today. 779

Tribe. In Australia the tribe is merely a linguistic unit, a group of people often very loosely united by the possession of a common language, and whose component clans occupy a certain definite territory. It is certainly not the most important unit of social life. It is not the land-owning group, the law-making or war-making group and has no political autonomy. Tribal organisation is conspicuous by its absence from most of Eastern Arnhem Land, although normal tribal organisation occurs at Groote Eylandt, at Bennet Bay and on the southern boundary of the territory, along the Roper River, as well as from the vicinity of Cape Stewart westwards. [197] 619 [184]

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region can note. It is for this reason that Mr Chaseling's book will be read by others besides the general reader.

In the rest of this Introduction, I draw attention to a few of the significant facts in the life of the north-east Arnhem Aborigines, and also to some of the important points made by Mr Chaseling.

Aboriginal Relationship System and Intelligence

North-east Arnhem Land is a very interesting region from the anthropological point of view. As elsewhere in Australia, the basis of social behaviour is the kinship or relationship system. According to this everyone is related to everyone else. This relationship, however, is not expressed in a multiplicity of terms which express the exact relationship between any two individuals. Instead, only about two dozen terms are used, with the result that all one's relations, that is, everyone in the region, are divided up into twenty odd groups or classes of relations. Thus, in one class the Aboriginal includes his own mother and her sisters and also a number of other women, mostly her cousins, and to all these people he applies one term, the term which includes and means 'mother'; the term 'sister' includes not only the daughters of his father's brothers and of his mother's sisters (these are sometimes referred to by students as parallel cousins), but also the daughters of certain of his parents' cousins; and so on with the other terms. This is the classificatory (or classifying) form of kinship system. It does not mean that an Aboriginal does not know his own mother, or father, or son, or father's father, and so on; he does know them—indeed, he is very good at genealogies. Its importance is that the terms used by two people of one another indicate the kind of behaviour they adopt toward each other—whether, for example, they can sit near one another, speak to one another, see or marry one another, and what is the obligation with regard to gifts and mourning with

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601 respect to each other. The 'father-son' behaviour is one
602 type; the 'mother's brother-sister's son', another type; the 'wife's mother's brother-sister's daughter's husband' a very different type; and so on.

582 This system, however, is not peculiar to north-east Arnhem Land. Nor indeed is the marriage rule. This allows marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter, but forbids it with one's father's sister's daughter. To emphasize the latter
[601] prohibition, a man calls his father's sister by the term for father. This reminds him that her daughter is like a sister to him, and therefore cannot (and will not) be thought of as a possible wife. In other words, only one sort of first-cousin marriage is allowed; it is the cross-cousin on his mother's side for a male, and on her father's side for a female. This is the preferred marriage, but, of course, such a spouse cannot always be obtained. Then, a man marries the child of the cross-cousin of one of his parents, or a person classified with her—a second cousin. This marriage rule and prohibition also operate amongst the natives near Lagrange in western Australia.

617 Now, however, we do come to something distinctive. Comparatively recently in the history of the region, a form of social organization has spread there from the south-west which is known as the subsection system. According to this, a person's relations, that is all the people in the community, are not only divided into about twenty kinship classes (like
[601] the mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, nephew, uncle, wife's mother, mother's father, and other classes), but in addition these classes of relations are divided into eight named groups, each of which includes two or three types of relations. Thus, if I am in one subsection, my children are in another, my wife in a third, her mother in a fourth, my mother in a fifth, second cousins whom I cannot marry in a sixth, and so on. In most tribes, too, my son's son and my father's father are in my own subsection, while my son and

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touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to

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551 602 speak to the mother of so-and-so.' He may also get round the prohibition by using relationship terms or addressing his remarks to a third person.

576 195 Nomads have no equivalents to our courtesy phrases 'please' and 'thank you' but make use of a highly developed form of praise. They couch their requests in courteous flattery. A Yulengor who is preserving some highly prized spear-heads may be reluctant to part with them, but if a man says to him, 'Ga, bokor-julni' ('Give to me, your face is smiling, pleasant and good'), he will almost certainly hand over the goods. Again, a man stretching out his hand to a relative for some rare food will probably say: 'Ga, kong-julni' ('Give to me, your hand is kind and generous').

Other forms of speech are used more often between closely related nomads, as when a child says to its mother: 'Ga, bokor-ngati' ('Give to me, your face is like my grandfather's'). Brothers, sisters and cousins say to each other: 'Ga, bokor-bapa' ('Give to me, your face is like your father's'). Sometimes they employ the idiom: 'Rhumbul durung unnera' ('Body and flesh like your father'), though more frequently this is addressed to a corpse in mourning ceremonies.

For years I was at a loss to know why groups of laughing Yulengor broke off their conversation when I happened to be passing, and turned to say: 'Poor fellow-tribal-father.' When I asked why they thought I was a 'poor fellow' they were momentarily nonplussed and I was still further embarrassed. Such a group would never laugh, even at a joke, [522] if they saw an elderly or respected Yulengor passing. If they happen to be laughing or talking as an 'old' man approaches, they turn and say 'Kummajarrk', thereby conveying best wishes, goodwill, and sympathetic understanding, and implying that they think well of him and that their laughter is not at his expense. In similar circumstances,

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It sounded very complicated to me, but I found that all aborigines could name their relationships just as easily as I could recall, say, my first-cousin relationship. In its simplest form the organization provides that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. Similar systems have operated throughout Australia and are by no means unknown elsewhere. In an ancient biblical folklore story, the aged Abraham sent for his eldest servant, and said: 'Put your hand under my thigh and swear that you will not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: But go to my country and take a wife unto my son Isaac.' In later years Isaac in turn said to his son Jacob: 'Arise, go to Padanaram to the house' (horde-family) 'of Bethuel your mother's father and take a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, your mother's brother.'

Neither a man's sons nor his sons' sons procure wives from the same marriage-subsection as he; for though the sons are of the same moiety as the father, Dua or Yiritja, and from the same horde family, they definitely belong to another marriage-subsection. A man's sons' sons' sons' son, however, known to us as his great-great-grandson, is identical with him in marriage-subsection and recommences the marriage-cycle by seeking a wife from the same marriage-subsection as did his great-great-grandfather. Perhaps it should be mentioned that a man must not marry his father's sister's daughter, but he may marry his mothers' brother's daughter. Cross-cousin marriage is prevented.

Amazing as it may seem, a nomad knows with certainty the moiety, horde, and marriage-subsection from which even an unborn infant will seek a wife, and where in turn his hypothetical offspring will find wives. He finds it a very simple thing to trace any family-tree indefinitely, for all the members of scattered hordes in a tribal group are related, and a man can name his relationship to any other nomad, even one whom he has never seen, who may live hundreds of

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602 miles away and belong to a horde of hereditary enemies.

602 177 Yulengor imagine that white people belong to tribal groups similar to their own, and that everyone in them is related. They were incredulous, and thought we were joking, when we told them that there were thousands of white folk whom we had never seen, and that my wife and I had not known each other until shortly before we were married, and that our marriage was of our own choice and freewill.

A government medical officer, accompanied by a lady, came by plane to inspect the station, and Yulengor women asked my wife to explain the relationship between the airman and his passenger, for they had heard that she was not his wife. It was beyond their understanding that the visitors were not related, and they asked repeatedly if the lady were his sister, wife, or daughter. Finally their outraged sense of fitness was satisfied when my wife said that the lady was the sister-in-law of another government officer. This explanation was greeted with murmurs of relief, and they concluded that as all government officers must be 'brothers', one man's wife stood in the tribal relationship of 'wife' to all the other government 'brothers', and all her sisters would be similarly related to them.

582 A man marries his tribal wife, 'galei', and ordinarily she is his mother's brother's daughter. But all the daughters of a mother's brother are a man's 'galei', and if he is fortunate he may marry all of them, but if there are other tribal brothers who stand in an identical relationship with these 'galei', it is unlikely that one man will obtain them all.

601 As a name, 'galei' is used not only for tribal wives, but also in ordinary conversation; a man applies this term to his own wives' brothers, his brothers' wives and paternal first cousins' wives. There are two dozen similar terms, and some of them cover as many as sixteen different types of relatives, that are as distant as the four varieties of galei. Others are